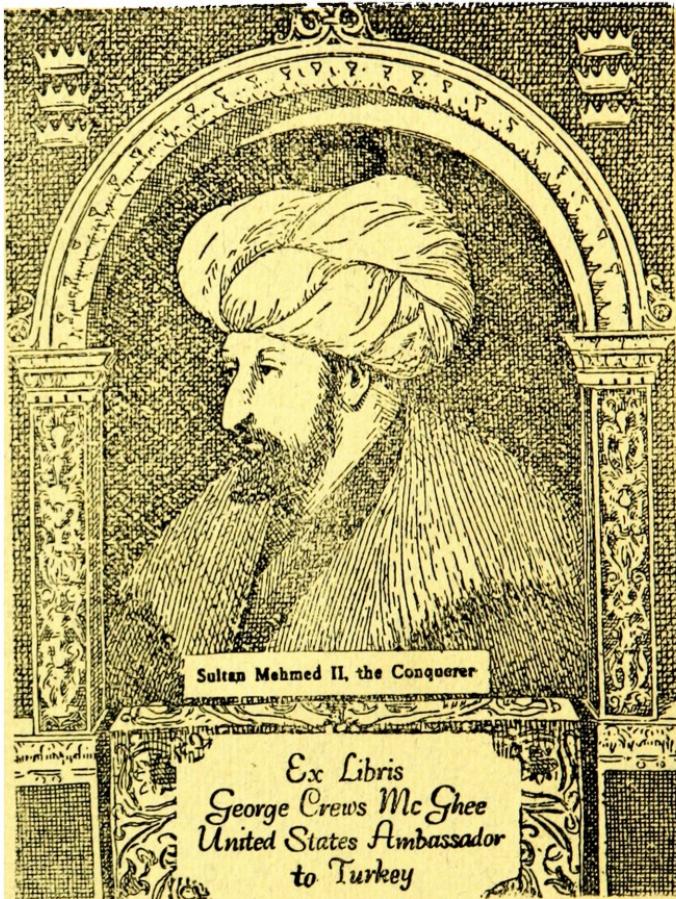


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vol. 2



Sultan Mehmed II, the Conqueror

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# SYRIA AND EGYPT UNDER THE LAST FIVE SULTANS OF TURKEY:

BEING

EXPERIENCES, DURING FIFTY YEARS, OF  
MR. CONSUL-GENERAL BARKER.

CHIEFLY FROM HIS LETTERS AND JOURNALS,

EDITED BY HIS SON,

EDWARD B. B. BARKER,

HER MAJESTY'S CONSUL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.



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# SYRIA AND EGYPT UNDER THE LAST FIVE SULTANS.

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## CHAPTER I.

Mr. Barker appointed Consul at Alexandria.—He improves the Breed of Silkworms in Syria.—Introduces Fruits and Vegetables.—Description of his Garden at Souedeeyah.—Projected Change of the Residency from Bussorah to Grain.—Meh'med Ali's growing Influence over the Bedouins.—Colonel Taylor's Treasure.—Quickness of the Post by the Route through Aleppo.—Tobacco influenced by Climate.—Anecdote.—The Kadee and his Wives.

IN the autumn of 1825 Mr. Barker heard, indirectly, that his post of Consul-General for the Levant Company at Aleppo had been suppressed, and that he had been appointed by the King to succeed Mr. Peter Lee as British Consul at Alexandria in Egypt.

He had before this, in 1820, on his return from Europe, brought with him the best silk-worm eggs to be procured from France; and every subsequent year he received fresh seed

(eggs) from France and Italy, which he had “brought up” in his wife’s silk-mulberry plantations at Souedeeyah; and in the autumn of 1825 he went down there to superintend arrangements preparatory to his leaving Syria.

By the introduction of fresh silkworm eggs, he renewed the whole “seed” of the north of Syria, and was the means of increasing the revenues of the Porte by many millions of piasters, because the silk, before he introduced the new “seed,” was of very inferior quality, having much degenerated, as no one would go to the expense of bringing fresh “seed” from Europe—a necessity in Syria, where the silkworm degenerates, both in the quality and quantity of the silk it produces, without a renovation of new life from Europe. He therefore, by renewing from time to time the “seed,” or silkworm eggs, procured better and more abundant harvests.

He introduced also into Syria many fruits and vegetables unknown before. The potato, the tomato, the loquat, or Indian “medlar,” the plum, greengage, the China quince, the mandarin orange, and several others of the orange

family, the sweet-kernelled apricots and peaches, and a great variety of shrubs and flowers. He says in a letter to his sister :—

“ I am now rich in fruit-trees and shrubs. I have ten kinds of the best cherries of France and Italy ; as many of plums, peaches, apples, and pears. I have, besides French quinces, Spanish quinces, French azaroles, medlars of Japan, mandarin oranges, bergamots, citrons, sweet and sour lemons, Spanish and Italian nuts and filberts, four engrafted trees of the largest kind of chesnut, syringa, guelder roses, lilacs, laurier thyme, laurier rose *splendens*, forty or fifty sorts of roses, among which the Bengal, which is always in full bloom, the multiflora, moss, etc. There is not to be found on the superficies of this globe a spot so favoured by soil and climate for every other plant except gooseberries and raspberries (for which the climate is too hot), as our garden at Souedeeyah.

“ Nothing can equal the luxurious growth of the peaches, plums, apricots (this last fruit is much superior here to the first kinds in Europe), oranges, and roses. A French peach

was the thickness of my little finger when we planted it in March 1822, and two feet high; it is now thicker than my wrist, eight feet high, with a round full head, that a bird can hardly creep into! A Bengal rose cutting, the thickness of a quill, planted in December 1822, became a bush ten or twelve feet in circumference, on which in November last<sup>1</sup> you might see fifty roses in bloom, and count two or three thousand buds. What will your gardener Dick think of that? But the most wonderful instance of quick and vigorous vegetation I ever saw was in an offset of an artichoke, that in one year became a plant of which the leaves formed a bush four or five feet high, and fifteen feet in circumference.

“ . . . Above all, it is the paradise of roses; besides the ordinary sorts, the common red, white, and yellow, to the number of fifty or sixty, I have upwards of thirty more, rare and precious sorts (five or six kinds which flower all the year round), that grow here with the vigour of a hedge briar. I believe I told you I have thirty or forty extremely

<sup>1</sup> He was writing in March, 1824.

double yellow roses, which have no smell, that hardly ever open well in other places, but which succeed here as well as the rest."

The subject of the transmission of packets to India had occupied Mr. Barker's mind for so many years, it was natural that he should, when on the point of leaving Syria, turn his thoughts to the prospect of the Pacha of Egypt becoming master of Syria (of which some rumours had reached his ears, and which he communicated to the Ambassador);<sup>1</sup> and he foresaw the "overland route" through Egypt sketched out, as will be seen by the copy of the following letter:—

"Colonel TAYLOR,

"Bagdad.

"ALEPPO, 17th Jan., 1822.

"DEAR SIR,—

"I acknowledged the receipt of your private letter by a few lines through the Serraff at Bagdad, on the 8th inst.

<sup>1</sup> "It is reported that Abdallah Pacha of Acre has taken measures which indicate that he expects to sustain a siege, and that the storm is brewing in Egypt."

"You have herewith an ample and, I hope, a satisfactory reply to your official communications.

"On the various interesting topics to which you hastily allude in your private letter, I can say very little, not having an adequate idea of the plan you formed, nor of the consequences that are expected to result from the projected change of the entrepot of Indian commerce in the Persian Gulf. I can foresee two advantages to be derived by the removal of the British Residency from Bussorah to Grain: 1st, the very important object of the health of the officers; and, 2nd, independence of the Pacha of Bagdad, and even of the Porte itself. Perhaps you have in view to obtain, as it were, the monopoly of customs in the grand staple commodity of Mocha coffee by preventing its being carried to Bussorah. It would, I conceive, be agreeable to the merchants of Damascus and Aleppo to carry their commodities to, and get a supply of Indian goods from, a British settlement, where they would be exempt from arbitrary impositions, and a portion of the trade which is now carried on by those merchants

through Bagdad would naturally be transferred to Grain, where they would send agents to reside, as they have heretofore done at Bussorah. As to the secure transit of the caravans across the desert, direct from Grain to Syria, there can be no doubt that object would be attained by the same means as are now employed to ensure their safety on their journeys between Bagdad and Aleppo, where caravans pass twice a year to the number of from 2,000 to 3,000 camels, spring and autumn. They would have, indeed, to calculate upon the hostility of the Pacha of Bagdad; but his efforts to impede the secure passage of caravans going to and coming from Grain could, I apprehend, be easily paralysed by obtaining the Viceroy of Egypt's all-powerful protection and guarantee. A proof, the strongest imaginable, of the high influence he has acquired over the Arabs of Arabia, has come to my knowledge, and astonished me by its extent.

“The Anazee Arabs, who come to the confines of Syria every spring in search of pasture and a cooler climate, began twenty years ago to lay the villages on its eastern and southern frontiers under contribution, and every village was

compelled annually to purchase freedom from their depredations by paying a tribute under the name of Khou-ay. Each year their claims increased, and the burden was becoming intolerable, when in 1819 the peasants were astonished at finding themselves relieved at once from their depredations, and their rapacious demands for Khou-ay, without for some time knowing to what cause to attribute their deliverance. But it is now known that it is not to Providence they are indebted for that advantage, but to the compassionate interference of Mehemet Ali Pacha, who has commanded the Arabs to desist from robbery; and all their hordes have obeyed his voice at the immense distance which separates the seat of his power from the deserts of Syria.

“It is in contemplation of this extraordinary control acquired over the Arabs by the Viceroy of Egypt, that I have stated my firm belief that the Hon. Company’s dispatches could never be transmitted across the desert so securely as at the present time, because I rely on your soliciting and readily obtaining for the messengers special passports from that friendly Power.”

*UNDER THE LAST FIVE SULTANS.*

Apropos of Colonel Taylor, we must relate an event which created a sensation, and astonished all the Turks at the honourable conduct of a British officer, as shown on this occasion.

His daughter wished to have a window opened in her room, looking on the river Tigris, and begged that a cupboard in the wall (as is customary in all Turkey) should be converted into a window. Masons were set to work, and began to pull down, when a very considerable treasure of ancient gold coins was seen to fall out of the wall in a stream.

This was no doubt some treasure hidden by a pilgrim who had gone to Mecca, and died there ; for it had evidently been concealed in that wall more than a hundred years. Colonel Taylor sent for the Pacha's officer, and remitted the whole into his hands.

His daughter had her window, but none of the gold, not even enough to make a bracelet or a pair of earrings.

In regard to the rapidity with which packets of dispatches were sent to India through Aleppo, and intelligence of important facts communicated to the Presidencies, we have many of Mr.

Barker's letters which speak emphatically of such quick transmission.

“ His Excellency the Rt. Hon. ROBERT LISTON,  
“ Ambassador,  
“ etc.      etc.      etc.  
“ ALEPPO, 10th May, 1815.

“ SIR,—

“ Your two obliging letters of the 4th and 6th past did not unfortunately reach me till a month after, but the circumstance of their delay has happily not been attended with any inconvenience to the public service, as General Maitland sent me a brig with the important intelligence they contained, which I received on the 30th March, and which, I have had the pleasure to learn, reached Bagdad on the 19th April.

“ If the Governor of Malta had sent me another brig with the information of the surprising event of Napoleon’s peaceful journey to the capital of France, he would probably have rendered a very great public service, as in this season the westerly winds prevail in the Mediterranean so much, that a fast sailing ship would hardly ever be more than eight or ten days on its passage from

Malta to Latakia, and *might* perform the voyage in five or six days.

"I mention that circumstance in order to suggest the expediency of your Excellency's noticing the subject in your correspondence with General Maitland, to whom I have taken the liberty to say that during all the summer months His Excellency might have frequent opportunities of communicating important intelligence to India, through my channel, at least thirty or forty days sooner than it could reach the Presidencies through Constantinople.

"But, in want of such advices, I transmitted to Bagdad on the 8th inst., the authentic intelligence of Napoleon's entry into Paris the 20th March, and the occupation of the Roman States by the armies of Murat, contained in a Genoese newspaper of the 1st April brought to Latakia by an English merchant ship from Genoa, and which reached me on the 7th inst., at the very moment I was occupied in reading Mr. Morier's dispatches of the 8th April, announcing the landing of Buonaparte in France. I likewise added to my report to Mr. Hine an authentic article from a Genoese paper of the

ratification of the peace of Ghent, and an article dated the 16th March, which states that the Allies are bound by a secret treaty to succour Louis XVIII. with 800,000 men, in the case of the invasion of Buonaparte."

In regard to the difference in the flavour of tobacco in different localities and climates, Mr. Barker writes an interesting anecdote :—

"Mr. J. HUDSON.

"Tobacconist, London.

ALEPPO, 28th April, 1821.

". . . Besides the finest qualities, that is, those which are the dearest in this country, I shall send you small samples of a variety of others, which are here held in inferior repute, but which may possibly be relished by your customers; for there is nothing so capricious as our taste for tobacco. The "Abou-reehah,"<sup>1</sup> which is cultivated in the neighbourhood of Latakia, is, in Egypt, preferred to all the other tobaccos of Syria, but in Aleppo it is looked

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps not generally known that this tobacco is smoked with lighted beech chips, in the same way as hams are smoked, till it becomes nearly black. There are three kinds of tobacco exported from Latakia.

upon as one of the worst. The light yellow tobacco so much relished in Constantinople could not be sold to the most indigent person in Syria; a beggar would hardly smoke it, so perfectly straw-like and tasteless does it become when brought here. It is not easy to account for the change that takes place in the flavour of tobacco when carried from one part of the world to another, nor is it certain that the leaf undergoes the alterations we perceive in smoking it in different climates, for our own sensations may be so modified by change of place that the same tobacco should be agreeable in Syria, and in England not suit our taste.

“The following anecdote, on the truth of which you may depend, will set that extraordinary matter in a very strong light. Two gentlemen of distinction of my acquaintance, one a Turk, the other an European born here, travelled by land from Aleppo to Constantinople some years ago. They were both true connoisseurs of tobacco. They had naturally, in preparing for their journey, taken care to have in their luggage an ample provision of their favourite tobacco. As people travel in this country on horseback,

and never trot or gallop, they usually smoke, whenever the wind and weather will permit; so that these gentlemen probably did not smoke less than thirty pipes a day apiece; in fact, the pipe was hardly ever out of their mouths.

“They continued to relish their pipes for some days after their departure, but they were scarcely fairly out of Syria before they began to feel less than usual pleasure in smoking. They at first attributed the change to occasional indisposition, but as they advanced northward their distaste for the pipe increased daily, and on their arrival at Koniah, a large town about half way between Aleppo and the capital, having accidentally tasted the tobacco of the place, they purchased some of the finest that was offered to them, and continued to smoke it till they reached Constantinople, where the Koniah tobacco also lost its flavour, and they smoked during a residence of two months there the light yellow tobacco of Salonica, with such extraordinary zest and delight that they resolved hereafter never to smoke any other. Well, sir, will you believe that they could relish it only a few days on their way back? At Koniah they were

obliged to again have recourse to the ordinary tobacco to be bought for a trifle in the bazaars of that town; and as they approached Aleppo, a small quantity of their original stock having been accidentally found in their saddle bags, a pipe or two a day of it was considered as a high treat."

Twenty years afterwards, this Mr. Hudson, who had lost Mr. Barker's address, and did not know from what part of the East he had received the tobacco, accidentally discovered that his creditor was living; and having also learnt the name and address of Mr. Barker's agent in London, paid him £100 in balance due to him. Mr. Barker had entirely forgotten the whole transaction.

An amusing story is told of a Kadee at Latakia. One Deeb Naomi, a Christian, had a lawsuit, and having gained his cause, urged the Kadee to give him the document legalizing his claim, and putting him in possession of the disputed land. But the Kadee, as usual, wished to prolong the delivery, in order to weary the patience of the postulant and induce him to give more fee-money than he (the

Kadée) was entitled to. Deeb Naomi was tired of coming every day to ask for his paper, but was resolved not to pay more than usual. He therefore, to bring about this result, bethought him of a plan.

He made up a large bundle, and carried it under his cloak, and going to the house of one of the Kadée's wives, knocked at the door. A black female slave came to the door, and half opening it, asked what he wanted.

Deeb Naomi asked in his turn if this was the Kadée's house. "Yes," was the answer. "Then," said he, "I am commissioned by the Kadée to deliver here a loaf of sugar, some coffee, and sweetmeats, because the Kadée has heard good news, and intends to spend the evening in the harem gaily. But wait: I am afraid I have made a blunder. Is this the house of the first wife, or of the second wife?" "Of the first wife." "Oh!" said he, as if suddenly startled, "what a mistake I have made; don't upbraid me, I am so sorry."

He then went to the house of the other wife, and acted the same scene over again. In both cases the two wives overheard what he had

said, for the door was ajar; and this he intended they should.

After sunset the Kadee came to the house of the second wife, and knocked at the door, but he could not get admittance. At last, after knocking several times, the lady cried out from the courtyard, “Go to the house of your favourite, and make merry ; I am not worthy of the good things—the sweetmeats and coffee. You are not wanted here.”

Not able to get in (for in Turkey there are no latch-keys), he went to the house of his first wife, and knocked at the door. The same reception awaited him there, with much additional recriminations : that a young wife was a treasure ; that it was only in *her* society he could be gay ; he had better go there. Finding it useless to remonstrate with the lady in her present mood, which he had learnt by long experience boded no good, and not willing to be left out in the cold, he went to a friend’s house and begged for a night’s lodging. His friend and he talked the matter over, and from the words which had fallen, suspected that some trick had been played on him ; and

then it struck him that it "could be no other than that rascal of a Christian." The next day he went to a neighbour whose house was next to his, and by means of a ladder got over the wall, and into the courtyard of the second wife's habitation ; but no protestations of his could persuade her of his innocence. The same thing occurred when he afterwards went to the first wife's apartments. The presents of coffee and sugar, etc., became an Oriental apple of discord, and it was some time before he heard the end of the matter. A few days afterwards, Deeb Naomi, when he thought the Kadee's wrath was somewhat abated, went to the Court of Law, and asked for his paper. The Kadee, glad to get rid of him, and fearing a worse trick, ordered the document to be given to him, and told him never to show his face there again.

## CHAPTER II.

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IN the beginning of the Greek Revolution, when this news came to the ears of the Turks in Cyprus, they hung the Greek Archbishop, four bishops, many priests, and decapitated most of the persons of note of the Greek persuasion who refused to become Mohammedans. In a letter from Mr. Barker to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, we learn these particulars and further acts of the Pachas in Syria on this occasion, which furnished excellent pretexts for extortion :—

“ His Excellency the Right Hon. Lord STRANGFORD,

“ etc. etc. etc. etc.

“ ALEPPO, 17th July, 1821.

“ MY LORD,—

“ . . . The Pacha of Aleppo received a

month ago a firman which made known the insurrection of the Greeks, commanded such as were in this Pachalic to be disarmed, and enjoined the Pacha to slay any who should be suspected of treasonable designs, confiscate their property, and reduce to slavery their wives and children.

“ Armed with an authority so ample and so vague, it was expected that he would have ruined the Christians; but the affair was got over by his levying a moderate fine, which was, however, not confined to the Christians of the Greek Church, who are few, and not opulent; the Armenians, Syrians, Maronites, and what are called here Greek Catholics, having all contributed towards the payment of the fine, though they have nothing whatever in common with the rebellion of Greece.

“ The Pacha of Acre, who received a similar firman, acted with much greater severity, as to the amount of the penalty imposed upon the Greeks; but there was this difference, that he did not fine the Christians indiscriminately, but only those who were of the Greek Communion. And this is the more remarkable as the Maron-

ites at Beyrouth are wealthy and numerous. He attempted to extend the effect of this Imperial command to disarming the people of the Mountains of the Druses, but he could neither take from them their arms nor their money."

In a letter to his sister, Mr. Barker says:— “It was during this persecution of the Greeks that Lady Hester Stanhope was witness to an act of generosity and humanity at Acre, which will vie with the romantic traits of those virtues in the times of the Khalifs that are recorded by Gibbon. Among the Christians who were fined and imprisoned by Abdallah Pacha on account of the Greek rebellion, there was one family that had no other means of paying the money demanded of them, than by selling two of their children, a boy and a girl of seven and eight years old. The poor innocents were exposed for sale to the highest bidder, in the market place, when a stranger, an Algerian merchant and a Mohammedan, was so moved by the affecting scene that he became the purchaser, and paying down twenty-eight purses (about £400, a considerable sum in Syria), immediately restored the children to their astonished parents. What a hardened

villain must that Pacha be who could coolly count that money and add it to his ill-gotten treasures. You may depend upon the truth of this anecdote.

“The noble action it records ought to be made known to the public in England, who cannot but delight in a fact that vindicates human nature, and shows us that Turks are still our brothers. To us, in the midst of the gloomy scenes of tyranny and consequent misery that surrounds us, an action like this is a solitary ray of hope in the dark regions of Pandemonium.”

In another letter to His Excellency Viscount Strangford, Mr. Barker says:—

“. . . Some time ago, a ‘Chiokadar’ [an officer from the Porte] arrived at Acre from Constantinople with a demand for money. Abdallah Pacha therefore levied a forced loan on all the inhabitants, Turks, Jews, and Christians, to the amount of 700 purses. He made up a ‘hazneh’ [treasure] of this money, and delivered it to the Chiokadar. Soon after this officer of the Porte had set out on his return by land, another, called a ‘Zaim,’ arrived,

charged with the commission of making a fresh demand for money. The Pacha, who had flattered himself that he would receive the Porte's approbation for what he had with great difficulty procured and sent, instead of paying this new demand for a larger sum, flew into a rage and killed the 'Zaim' and eight of his retinue. He then immediately sent orders to the Governor of Tripoli to dispatch soldiers after the Chiokadar, to overtake and kill him and his servants, and bring back the 'hazneh,' —which was duly executed; so that the Pacha has thus publicly manifested his rebellion, and is preparing the means for his defence of Acre. He has done more; he has seized two villages, Hasbeia and Rasheiah, in the Pachalic of Damascus."

The Envoy from the Porte was not murdered in the district of the Pachalic of Acre, but just after he had entered the next Pachalic, in order to exonerate the Pacha of Acre from all blame. The writer of these pages has seen the spot—between Latakia and Ordee; well known to the people in that locality—where this horrible act was committed.

Some years afterwards, when Mehemet Ali Pacha of Egypt took Acre, Abdallah Pacha was sent to Egypt, but was not imprisoned; and we saw him kneeling on the Pacha's divan at Alexandria, taking coffee as a guest.

I transcribe the story of a horse, which may be interesting to my readers, as showing what difficulties sometimes surround a Consul in the East.

Mr. Barker's brother Benjamin had, before leaving Aleppo for Constantinople, commissioned Fathallah Carallee, a jockey before mentioned, to purchase for him a young Arab horse of good breed, and gave him the sum of 600 piasters—350 in cash, and 250 price of a horse Fathallah had sold for him. After his departure, Fathallah brought a horse, which, however, a man of Aleppo claimed, as having purchased it of an Aintablee (a man of Aintab), while Fathallah declared he had bought it of a Bedouin Arab.

"BENJAMIN BARKER, Esq.,  
" Smyrna.

ALEPPO, 15th July, 1825.

" MY DEAR BEN,—

" At the conclusion of a letter I wrote

you on the 8th inst., I gave you the hopes I then entertained of being soon able to inform you of the termination of the affair of your horse. Several sheets would be insufficient to give you a faint idea of the complicated intrigues and various turns of that business, which has been treated at the Mehkameh (court of law) with all the forms of law that would have been requisite to settle the claims of the heirs of Hanna Baleet.<sup>1</sup> Suffice it to say that Abou Kassem (the Cawass) has been employed incessantly for ten days, and during that time a day has not passed in which I have not had consultations with Elias Sooroor (whom I was obliged to retain as my lawyer) and with Agoob Jan, his dragoman; or, which was worse than all, the teasing applications of Fathallah, which I have been obliged to bear, and which I foresee I shall still be exposed to.

“Till the day before yesterday it was generally thought Fathallah would be able to prove that the horse was honestly acquired by him, and by the Arab, who, he says, sold it him. Nay, on the evening of that day he came to me

<sup>1</sup> A rich Christian merchant who died and left many heirs.

accompanied by an officer of the Mehkameh, exulting that he had gained his suit, and, as a proof of it, showed me the order of the Kadee to him to pay the “Mahsool”<sup>1</sup> [costs, in 75 piasters]. I was so well pleased at the thought of having at last got rid of this disagreeable affair that he easily prevailed upon me to lend him the money, and he immediately ran away with it, and paid it to the Kadee. The Aintablee was, of course, condemned to repay me the 450 piasters, and after that to attack in the Mehkameh, in his turn, the Aleppo man, who has got possession of the horse. The former not having the money to refund, I had pleased myself for a moment into a lucky coincidence that I should thus be able to recover the horse and to send it to you by the caravan; but, to my infinite surprise, the affair took again another turn, and yesterday the cawass, the dragoman, and an officer of the Mehkameh, brought me Fathallah, pale and weeping, and making the most violent protestations of innocence. His adversary had brought

<sup>1</sup> In Turkey the gainer of the suit pays the costs, and not the person condemned.

fresh witnesses, and the Kadee had annulled his sentence in Fathallah's favour, and decided irrevocably that the horse was the property of the Aleppo man. Fathallah was condemned to pay me 600 piasters,—that is to say, 350 which he received from you in money, and 250, the price for which he sold Pons' horse for your account. The officer of the Kadee had in charge the person of Fathallah, to compel him to the payment of that sum, or to carry him off to prison. The tender heart of Monsieur de Lesseps has been interested in his favour, and he sent Geoffrey, his dragoman, to beg the favour of me to agree to Fathallah's being confined in the French prison, instead of that of the Kadee. To this I demurred: I insisted upon immediate payment of the 600 piasters, or his continuing in the custody of the Kadee's man. He offered me the title deeds of his house as security, which I refused. On finding there was no alternative between satisfying my demands and going to prison in the Mehkameh, after floods of tears he finished by giving me a light-grey colt, rising four or five years, for the sum of 500 piasters, in full of all demands. The sale

was immediately substantiated by a deed from the Kadee, and the colt brought into my stable.

"In this settlement you have given up 100 piasters, of your right, in law, though you will recollect that if Fathallah had come off victorious you would have recovered only 450 piasters; and I have made the sacrifice of the 75 piasters that I lent him, with less circumspection than the case warranted, considering the character of the man I had to deal with.

"The colt is a true 'Nedjdee,' and has not yet had a bit in his mouth; consequently free from vice or corporeal defect of any kind, and, I think, worth 500 piasters, but his late proprietor, Fathallah, sets a much greater value upon him, pretending to have refused 700 for him two months ago."

"ALEPPO, 30th July, 1825.

"I have given you an account of your horse speculation, which, as I foresaw it would, continues to give me infinite trouble. My wife is plagued to death by Fathallah's mother and relations: they think it just that you should lose all

the money of the horse. You can have no idea of the sophistical arguments they use in support of their proposition, but you may easily imagine with what pertinacity and insolence they maintain them. They pretend that the colt I have taken is worth 1,000 piasters. It is in vain I tell them, ‘Persuade somebody to lend you 500 piasters on him; bring me the money, and you shall have him.’ It is in vain I say that you have sacrificed 100 piasters, and I, 75; nothing less than the sacrifice of the whole will prevent their heaping curses upon me and all my family. They have just been here; they swear Fathallah had not last night wherewithal to buy his supper, and that he went to bed hungry; in short, my wife and I never fell into a worse scrape in our lives. I mean, on our setting out to-morrow, to take the colt with me to Souedeyah, and from thence send him by the caravan. Aroteen and Melcoo will accompany me as grooms, and go on with him. But I expect *une scene*,—and a very disagreeable one it will be.”

“ BENJAMIN BARKER, Esq.,

“ Smyrna.

“ ALEPPO, 26th August, 1825.

“ The affair of your horse is precisely as it was when I last wrote to you (30th July). Fathallah and his mother are still pertinaciously insisting that I was robbing them of 500 piasters. It is still in my stable, and will be sent under the care of a muleteer, if Fathallah (which is very unlikely) does not in the meantime bring me 500 piasters. I have at last pacified in a degree his relations by contributing 100 piasters to a subscription which was set on foot by Monsieur de Lesseps to come to his relief under his misfortune, and in which the Consul himself subscribed 25 piasters, and his son Theodore 15 piasters.

“ BENJAMIN BARKER, Esq.,

“ Constantinople.

“ ALEPPO, 4th October, 1825.

“ MY DEAR BEN,—

“ On my return here a few days ago, I was sorry to see your colt still in my yard. I learnt that Araktunjee had had a severe illness, and that it was very uncertain when he would set out for Smyrna. I had not, however, long con-

templated the embarrassment the delay in Arak-tunjee's journey would cause me, seeing the winter approaching, and despairing of a good opportunity of forwarding the colt, when I was happily relieved from much anxiety on that account by Signor Reggio having offered Fathallah 800 piasters for the colt, and awaited only my consent to his concluding the purchase. You will recollect that when I took the animal instead of 500 piasters, I promised, upon Fathallah's entreaties, that if in the course of a fortnight he could find a purchaser for more than that sum, I would not stand in his way, but on receiving the money he owed you, deliver him his colt, on which he set a superior value. Instead of fifteen days, seventy days have elapsed, and of course if I had had to deal with any other person I might have refused to give it up. But, in the first place, I really think, under all circumstances, you have got a good riddance; and, secondly, it would have been impossible for me to maintain my right against the horde of female assailants if I had been inclined. This you will easily believe when I tell you that in order to save you his

keep from the day I had him, having asked 100 piasters for that object, I met and am still struggling with Fathallah and his whole family in a violent altercation. I have, however, Youssouf Sader's word, on the part of his principal, Reggio, that he will pay me 600 piasters in a day or two ; and it was on Youssouf Sader's responsibility, or rather his master's, that I delivered the colt yesterday into his hands. But everything regarding this affair is so slippery that I do not consider it terminated till the 600 piasters are counted into the palm of my hand. I have sworn this rascal Fathallah shall never again darken my doors."

Fathallah, this gentleman-jockey, was a beautiful rider and dancer, and played the "jereed" to perfection, but possessed no other virtue. The reader will understand that he had *not* bought any horse ; he had spent the money Mr. Benjamin Barker had paid him, and all these manœuvres were tricks to put off payment. Protected by the French Consulate and its inmates, in consideration of his French relations, he spent his life in intrigues and shuffling tricks like the above. Such cases are the rule

in the East,—pointing to the moral that *nothing whatever can be depended upon*, because, in the absence of justice and law, lying and trickery is the rule.

Here is an example again :—

“ PETER ABBOTT, Esq.,

“ Consul, etc., etc. (Private).

“ ALEPPO, 26th March, 1826.

“ . . . I do not hear of Mr. Bobone’s coming here, but the talk of the day is that he has been negotiating for some time past with three persons here for the sale of his Sardinian Vice-Consulate of Aleppo, and it is spoken of as offered to the best bidder. He is, however, kept in countenance in this dishonourable traffic by most of the Foreign Ministers at Constantinople—I might perhaps be warranted in saying by all except the English and French Ambassadors. The Neapolitan, the Swedish, Russian, and Danish Envoys carry it on with a most scandalous publicity.”

To the same.

“ ALEPPO, 11th April, 1826.

“ . . . This will proceed by a messenger sent by Signor Molinari, a Sardinian merchant

lately established here, to Signor Bobone. It is supposed to be for the purpose of conveying to him the 4,000 piasters, the stipulated price of the Sardinian Pro-Consulate of Aleppo. He had been offered by a Jew, Daniel de Picciotto, 8,000 piasters, and by another Jew, Isaac Alteras, 12,000 piasters, but in consideration of the recommendation of Monsieur de Lesseps, and of Signor Molinari being a countryman, he had the *virtue* to refuse the greater bribe and to accept the smaller. His name is never mentioned here but as rhyming with the word 'mangione.' "<sup>1</sup>

In August Mr. Barker went down to Soue-deeyah to await the man-of-war that was to take him to Egypt. He did not pass through Antioch, on account of the plague, but straight through the country districts. Passing through Dwaire (Daphne), he lodged a few days at the country house of a *protégé* of his, named Dimeetree. Here he saw an Ansairee woman serving in the house, who evidently was very near her time, and who the next day asked Mrs.

<sup>1</sup> This word means in Italian and Arabic a "swallower," a "devourer," and is always used in the sense of taking bribes.

Barker to give her linen to wash, as she was going down to the river (about a mile down a steep mountain). Mrs. B. refused, and remonstrated with her, but she could not dissuade her from going down. Toward evening she returned, quite alone, bringing with her a baby in her arms and a packet of linen on her head. Mr. Barker was determined to leave a record of this fact, which he told his wife shamed her and all the ladies. Piercing a large gold coin, he desired that the babe (a daughter) should wear it constantly round her neck. The child grew up to be a woman, and the author of this book saw her thirty years afterwards with the coin round her neck, which superstition had kept there all her life, as it was looked upon as an amulet, or charm, and on that account was carefully preserved.

## CHAPTER III.

Attempt of the Greeks to take Beyrouth.—Atrocities by the Albanian Irregulars.—Mr. Barker embarks for Egypt.—Bad Quarters on arriving.—Description of the Town in 1826.—First Interview with Meh'med Ali, the Viceroy.—Departure of the Egyptian Fleet for the Morea.—Letter to Lord Prudhoe in regard to wearing Oriental Costume.—Greek Pirates.—How to avoid Fever in Travelling.—Little Respect paid to Europeans.—Political Prognostics.—The Viceroy's belief in Fate.

ON the 18th March, 1826, a flotilla of Greek vessels, eleven in number, afterwards joined by four more, anchored at Beyrouth, and landed 500 men in the quarter where there were gardens for the cultivation of silkworms. These gardens were principally inhabited by Greek Christians. The people of the town had neither force to offer resistance, nor arms, nor ammunition.

“On the morning of the 19th they attacked the town, but were repulsed by a party with the Muftee at their head, and in a skirmish about ten to fourteen were killed and wounded on both sides. The Greeks retreated to the gardens, where they fortified a tower tempora-

rily, and endeavoured to persuade the Christian inhabitants to rise and join them,—erroneously believing them able to do so, and declaring they had not come to injure them. Not finding any response, they re-embarked and left early on the 23rd inst.

“ In the afternoon of the same day, the Kehya Bey [Lieutenant] of Abdallah Pacha of Acre, arrived with 500 Arnaouts,<sup>1</sup> when the inhabitants suffered more in their property from these undisciplined troops than the invasion of the Greeks had inflicted upon them ; and the Christian part of the population, without distinction of Latin, Maronite, or Greek, was pursued and persecuted in a most merciless manner by the established authorities ; while the Europeans themselves were not secure from the effects of the insolence and rapacity of the soldiery. A party of Arnaouts forcibly entered the dwelling-houses of Monsieur Pourriere, a French merchant, and Mr. Goodall, an American missionary under British protection.

“ The Consuls themselves with great difficulty were enabled to repel their insolent attempts to

<sup>1</sup> Arnaouts are Albanian irregular soldiers.

carry their search into the interior of their own dwellings, and to protect their own servants from sharing the fate of the other Christians, whose houses and silk plantations were confiscated, and all who could be seized were reduced to beggary, after having been tortured for the purpose of extorting from them sums which it was impossible for them to raise by the immediate sale of all their effects.

" Monsieur Henri Guys, French Consul at Beyrouth, positively states that three of those unhappy people were carried out of the presence of their inhuman tormentors in a dying state, and one had been tortured till he embraced the religion professed by his atrocious oppressors."

Mr. Barker says in a letter to his brother :—

" SOUEDEEYAH, 2nd Oct., 1826.

" . . . You will have heard ere this reaches you, that we finally left Aleppo on the 24th August, and arrived here all well on the 31st inst. But, to my great surprise, I am yet without orders for proceeding to Alexandria, and without the means of going there, unless I choose to run the risk of being robbed and carried away

by the Greek pirates, one of which has lately plundered in the neighbourhood two English, one French, and one Austrian ship; so that if I should receive my ‘commission,’ I could not embark for Egypt, but must necessarily wait until the Ambassador can prevail upon the Admiral to send me a ship of war to take me to Alexandria.”

It would have been an awkward matter for a British Consul and his family to be carried off and sold for slaves! To his great relief, after so many months’ waiting, a man-of-war was sent for him, which arrived at Souedeeyah on the 9th October, 1826, took him and his family and servants on board, and sailed on the 10th October for Beyrouth. No time was lost in getting on board, because the ship was cruizing off the bay on account of the season of the year and the uncertain weather.

This man-of-war was the *Seringapatam*, Captain Charles Sotheby, who proved to be a very amiable man, and one endowed with patience,—fortunately, as the embarkation was by no means an easy matter. He had to embark 150 packages, which had loaded thirty camels

and ten mules. There were several horses and donkeys and servants; these last the most incongruous on board a man-of-war,—always in the way of the men, and tumbling over everything.

To Mr. Barker the scene was novel and striking. He had been so long in a country where his motions were free as air, where no restraint had been put on him by the exigencies of "etiquette," that he found the discipline on board disagreeable. When he went on deck to escape from the stifling heat and confinement below, a midshipman would walk up to him and say,—

"Sir, I will trouble you to take your elbow off that gun, and remember we are here in the presence of His Majesty."

Or if he took out a cigar, another officer would come to him and say,—

"Smoking is not allowed, sir, in this part of the ship."

"Where then can I smoke?"

"Ask the First Lieutenant."

Washing the decks of a morning was also a great trouble to him, who had been accustomed

to Turkish early rising,<sup>1</sup> and *could not* remain below till the decks were dry. In fact, everything was different, and although he had been to England seven years before, and had felt the difference between Europe and Asia, the “discipline” on board a man-of-war was more constraining and irksome. Although the distance between Souedeeyah and Beyrout is only a run of twenty-one hours with a fair wind, the *Seringapatam* was eight days in getting there, arriving on the 18th October. Here they remained only time enough for him to pay a visit to the Consul; but at Saida he remained long enough to see Lady Hester Stanhope, and bid her farewell.

The *Seringapatam* arrived at Alexandria on the 25th October; and, when still on board, as soon as he had read the letters awaiting him, he wrote a letter to his agent at Aleppo, Mr. Magy, to inform him that he had received information from His Excellency the Ambassador, that orders had been sent by the Grand

<sup>1</sup> Mussulmans are bound by their religion to say their prayers an hour before daylight, and therefore every one is stirring at daybreak. Meh'med Ali always gave the Consuls audiences a little after sunrise, and sometimes before.

Vizier at the Porte to the Pacha of Aleppo to deliver up the Bibles and books sequestered in the custom-house; and instructed him to apply to have them delivered up to him till further orders.

On his arrival at Alexandria he was very badly lodged. Alexandria had not long been the Viceroy's residence, and his palace at Rassitteen was not yet finished. The town, then nothing more than a Turkish one, was wretched. The French, Sardinian, and Russian Consuls and Consuls-General, were lodged in khans, and not even large ones; in short, they were *Turkish caravanserais*, which had been adapted to Europeans by a little lath and plaster and curtains. There was only one hotel in the place, and that an Italian one, with very poor accommodation. There were only two coaches, one belonging to the Viceroy himself, and the other to his son-in-law, Moharrem Bey.

A large "okel," or khan, for the Consuls was about being built on somewhat larger and more modern principles, but was not ready till two years after his arrival.

He took up his quarters in a house belonging

to Mr. Thurburn in the gardens, about five minutes' walk from the town, but it was very unhealthy; several people in the house, who left it as he went in, appeared like persons in an hospital. But his family and he suffered little except from fever, particularly Mrs. Barker; but to this they had been accustomed in Syria. He discovered afterwards that the "malaria" of this house proceeded from its having been built on ancient cisterns.

He was much disgusted at first on arriving at Alexandria: no decent lodging, no comfort whatever; but this is generally the lot of all Consuls. He found the Pacha was at Cairo, but was told he was expected to return shortly. This extraordinary man was activity itself, going from place to place, and looking into everything personally. His son, Ibraheem Pacha, was then in the Morea.

The Mahmoudieh canal, which brings the sweet water of the Nile to Alexandria, was then nearly completed,—entirely Mehemet Ali's work; a great boon to Alexandria, obliged before to drink the water of brackish wells below the level of the sea; for the land on which the old

town of Alexandria is built was originally the sea. There were still three or four very small springs of water in the vicinity (one at Komediky, another at the Greek convent, etc.), which appear to have been the relics of some very ancient watercourses from the Nile; for tradition says that the city of Alexandria had everywhere water brought to cisterns from the Nile, almost all of which were now choked up with rubbish, and the water in those which were open was stagnant,—whence the malaria; but when the Nile overflowed it was observed that this water increased.

It was no doubt an extraordinary change for him, on his first landing, to realize: the streets narrow, very dirty, and crowded with a population which Monsieur de la Borde called *un peuple criard*, vociferating at the pitch of their voices, and incessantly quarrelling,—a scene very different to the one he had been used to in Syria.

The first letter he writes on his arrival is the following:—

(*Private.*)

“FRANCIS WERRY, Esq.,

“His Majesty’s Consul at Smyrna.

“ALEXANDRIA, 26th Oct., 1826.

“MY DEAR SIR,—

“I cannot permit my first official letter to you after my arrival in this place to depart without accompanying it by a few lines in this form, to say that I should be very happy to cultivate friendly correspondence with you, which will not only be very agreeable to me, but also cannot fail to prove, in many cases, beneficial to the public service.

“A confidential intercourse and good understanding between the Civil officers of His Majesty in this Empire, must be the wish of our superiors, and I do assure you nothing shall be wanting on my part for its accomplishment.

“In the confident hope of finding in you, Sir, a similar disposition, I remain, with mine and my family’s united compliments to all the individuals of yours, and high regard,

“My dear Sir,

“Your faithful humble Servant,

“JOHN BARKER.”

On the 25th November he had an audience of the Viceroy, which he relates as follows :—

Extract from Mr. JOHN BARKER's letter of the 25th November, 1826, to JOSEPH PLANTA, Esq., His Majesty's Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, etc., etc.

"I am happy to say that on paying the Viceroy my first visit to deliver my credentials, His Highness was pleased to receive me very graciously, and politely obviated the necessity of not rising at my entrance by coming into the Hall of Audience an instant after I had been ushered into it,—a mark of distinction which was not given to the Sardinian Consul-General, nor even to the Consul-General of Austria, whose installation took place not long ago, and who were received by His Highness while sitting on his divan. After having informed him that the King of England had been graciously pleased to appoint me to be His Majesty's Consul at Alexandria, and paid His Highness the usual compliments, my dragoman remitted Boghos Joosouf, His Highness's interpreter, the roll containing my barat, or Imperial command

recognising me as British Consul in Alexandria ; which, without deigning even to cause to be opened, he, with a sign, ordered to be returned to my dragoman.

“ His Highness condescended to enter into very familiar discourse. He talked of four frigates which he said were building for him in Marseilles and Leghorn, and would be sent out to him in the spring. He said the Greeks had never attacked any of his ships, but it was not clear whether he meant to say because they feared to do so, or for some other cause.

“ His Highness spoke in general terms of praise of my predecessor, Mr. Lee ; he mentioned particularly his prudence, and the proof he gave of his understanding by never making any opposition to his will, or disputing any of his opinions,—which, he observed, was very easily done, because they were always founded on reason and justice ; and finished by expressing his desire and conviction that the same harmony which had always subsisted between him and Mr. Lee would subsist between His Highness and myself.

“ In one part of the conversation, which lasted more than half an hour, His Highness spoke nearly in the following terms :—‘ I will tell you a story : I was born in a village in Albania, and my father had ten children besides me, who are all dead ; but while living, not one ever contradicted me. Although I left my native mountains before I attained to manhood, the principal people of the town never took any step in the business of the parish without enquiring what was my pleasure. I came to this country an obscure adventurer, and when I was but a bimbaschee, it happened one day that the keeper of the tents had to give to each of the bimbashchees a tent. They were all my seniors, and naturally pretended to a preference over me ; but the tent-keeper said, ‘ Stand ye all by ; this lad, Mohammed Ali, shall be served first.’ And I *was* served first ; and I advanced step by step as it pleased God to ordain, and now here I am,’—rising a little on his seat, and looking out of the window, which was at his elbow, and commanded a view of the Lake Mareotis. ‘ And here I am ; I never had a master,’—glancing his eye

on the roll which contained the Imperial firman."

In a postscript to another letter, he adds :—

"In my case, His Highness condescended at least to give me a lesson how he expected me to behave ; but his open contempt for the orders of the Sultan was less ceremoniously displayed on the Sardinian Consul for Cairo being presented to him by Signor Pedemonte, the Sardinian Consul-General of Alexandria. With this latter he had some dealings in Merinos sheep ; and when the Consul for Cairo had finished his speech and presented his berat, His Highness turned suddenly to the Consul-General, and said, 'Eh bien, Pedemonte ; comment vont nos moutons ?' I had this anecdote from the best authority ; it was the Sardinian Consul-General himself who related it to me. The general drift of the Viceroy's discourse to me was evidently to undeceive me if I had placed any reliance on support from His Majesty's mission at Constantinople ; but although not so clearly expressed, I think it right to state distinctly that I retired from His Highness' presence with the impression that he meant to insinuate that he was as

little awed by the power of the Sovereign of Great Britain as by that of the Sultan.

“I have the honour to be, with great respect,  
“Sir,

“Your most obedient humble servant,  
“(Signed) JOHN BARKER.”

In another letter of the same date he says:—

“The Viceroy protracted his departure for Cairo till yesterday, in consequence of the delays attendant on the equipment of his fleet, which finally sailed on the 20th inst. for the Morea, under the command of His Highness' son-in-law, Moharrem Bey. It was composed of seventy-eight sail, of which about thirty were ships of war, four fire-ships, sixteen Turkish transports, and twenty-eight European transports (chiefly under the Austrian flag), a few Neapolitan, and one Ionian, under simulated papers. It carried money, and ammunition, and provisions, but no troops. The amount of the specie on board is said to be from 800,000 to 900,000 Spanish dollars.

“The news of Lord Cochrane's return to England has been received here with very great

and general satisfaction. The rumours that prevailed here of his coming to aid the Greeks, and the probability of his first operation being an attempt to blockade this port, had made an impression very unfavourable to British interests in this country, and the failure of his projects is considered as a very happy circumstance in many points of view."

" ALEXANDRIA, 25th May, 1827.

" The Viceroy is busy in refitting two line-of-battle ships, and fifteen to twenty frigates and corvettes, which the Grand Seignor has sent him to repair. His Highness has about thirty frigates and corvettes of his own in better condition, and he amuses himself by short sailing excursions for the purpose of trying the ships he has lately received from Leghorn and Marseilles. He is just come back from a cruize in the beautiful corvette that was built for him at Leghorn."

" FRANCIS WERRY, Esq.,

" Her Majesty's Consul at Smyrna.

" 19th June, 1827.

" . . . Of what avail, in a political sense, is the friendship of the Pacha to the

French? Supposing it to be carried to the highest pitch that a grateful sense of favours and personal deference could bring it, what would it be worth? Let them enjoy all the advantages of the *love* of Meh'met Ali, so long as we can command his *fear*: that is the ground to go upon. Put the tremendous power of England into one scale, and the Pacha's fondness for French sycophants and flatterers in a contrary balance, and see whose will shall be done."

In a letter to Lord Prudhoe (afterwards Duke of Northumberland), he refers to an account he had received from Syria of the ill-treatment of Mr. Strangways and some other English travellers by the chief of the soldiers on the road to Aleppo, and declares:—"One thing is, however, to me very clear, that if they had been in their own costume no evil would have befallen them; and I would take the liberty to recommend your lordship and Major Felix to travel in Syria in your European dress."

During nearly fifty years that he lived in Syria, he never once put on any other dress than the European.

Greek pirates, taking advantage of the war in Greece, committed with impunity depredations on vessels of all nations. An English vessel, coming from Malta, was stripped of everything ; and an Austrian vessel, which came in at the same time, met with similar treatment. This last had 6,000 dollars on board, which were taken. A little box containing diamonds to the amount of 30,000 dollars, belonging to the Pacha, was the only thing that escaped pillage.

In writing to Lord Prudhoe, then at Cairo, and intending to go from thence to Syria, Mr. Barker says :—

“ The Right Hon. Lord PRUDHOE,  
“ etc. etc. etc.

“ ALEXANDRIA, 20th July, 1827.

“ MY LORD,—

“ I attribute the death of our countrymen in Syria to over-fatigue in travelling in the hot season, to cold bathing, and to the use of brandy, even when taken in great moderation. “ Le-ban,” that is, sour milk, and water, lemonade, etc., are, in my humble opinion, much better calculated than spirituous liquors to allay thirst

to diminish the feverish state of the blood, and restore the exhaustion of spirits that a long day's journey under a scorching sun may have produced. I would strongly recommend instant bleeding upon the *first* and slightest attack of fever; which will generally restore a traveller in Syria to health in the course of a week or ten days, provided he takes repose, and a strict diet of rice and water, and resists the advice of his friends and physicians of every description to take physic in any shape.

"The 4,000 troops arrived here from Cairo are extremely well equipped and well drilled. There are two bands of music attached to these troops, of thirty wind instruments each, all Arab lads, which would not disgrace any regiment in the British service. It is thought the fleet will be ready to take them on board for the Morea in about a fortnight."

In a letter to a friend he says:—

"I consider Alexandria to be a very agreeable and healthy climate, and pleasant residence. But in regard to the consideration of the Franks (Europeans)—will you believe it?—there is no place in the Turkish dominions where it is less

than in Egypt. The Consuls have spoilt the Pacha, and he treats them as they deserve."

About this time there was a fear entertained by the public at Alexandria that events in Greece would bring about a rupture between Turkey and the European Powers, and that Egypt would be drawn into the dispute. But Mr. Barker declared he had no apprehension of any such result, for "*Mehemet Ali must accept the neutrality offered him, because in a war he would lose his fleet—his darling fleet, the work of his own creation, on which he relies and places all his hopes of becoming stronger than his master, and keeping his head on his shoulders.*"

The "event" at Navarino proved soon after that (on the 24th July 1827) he took a *prophetic* and right view of politics, for this "untoward event" occurred on the 20th Oct., 1827.

The news of the destruction of the Ottoman and Egyptian fleets was received by Mehemet Ali with resignation. "It was to be—it was to be," said he to Mr. Barker; and nothing could be said to that.

"On my slightly alluding to the first shot

having been fired by the Turks, and that consequently the calamity might, by prudence on their part, have been avoided, he said, speaking of the event, and not at all assenting to my view of the case, ‘No, no ! it was to be;’ and afterwards I was informed that His Highness had maintained that we were the aggressors.”

## CHAPTER IV.

The Viceroy's remarkable Moderation after Navarino.—His Finances.—Depredations by Pirates.—The Viceroy's sharp practice with the Merchants.—Dr. Wolff expected.—Wonders in Egypt on a First View of the Nile at Rosetta.—Death of Mr. Salt the Consul-General.—Mr. Barker's Guests.—Colonel Cradock is sent on a Secret Mission to the Viceroy.—The Viceroy's Dissimulation.—Arab Story.—The Hatti Shreef of 1827.—Not heard of in Syria.—The Sensation it created in Paris.—Russian Manifesto.—Mr. Barker's Opinion how Turkey should be treated.—Anecdote of the Bastinado.

A LETTER to Sir Edward Codrington, K.C.B., Admiral of the Blue, and Commander of His Majesty's naval forces in the Mediterranean, from John Barker, Esq.<sup>1</sup>:

“ALEXANDRIA, 28th Nov., 1827.

“SIR,—

“I had the honour to receive your Excellency's dispatch of the 25th October from off Navarino, to the address of the late Consul-General, on the 3rd inst.

“His Highness the Viceroy was apprised of

<sup>1</sup> We must inform our readers that consequent on Mr. Salt's death Mr. Barker was now acting as Consul-General.

the destruction of his fleet the day preceding by a Turkish brig-of-war that sailed in company with the French brig *L'Echo*, the bearer of your dispatch; and I am happy to be able to inform your Excellency that the long apprehended crisis is passed without our tranquillity being for a moment disturbed."

"On the 2nd instant the full extent of the loss sustained on the 20th October was known to every man in Alexandria; but there did not appear in the populace the slightest symptoms of exasperation against Christians. His Highness the Viceroy displayed great magnanimity on this trying occasion. While perusing his long dispatch, he frequently stopped to exclaim aloud, "I told them what would be the consequence; did they think they had to deal with Greeks?"—and ere he had come to an end of the report, he sent for Monsieur le Comte d'Oysonville, commandant of the French frigate *La Vestale*, assuring him that the total destruction of his fleet, however much he might deplore the event, had made no alteration in his friendly sentiments towards French subjects and towards all Europeans residing in Turkey, whom he

should, whatever consequence might ensue, continue to look upon as entitled to his personal and special protection.

“ On the following day, the 3rd inst., when I received your Excellency’s dispatch, I waited upon His Highness, and was received with more than usual politeness and distinction. He renewed then in the strongest terms the assurances which he had given to the late Mr. Salt at Cairo, that in case of a war with the Porte British subjects in Egypt should be safe in their persons and property; and said emphatically, ‘ I know well how to appreciate and to maintain the reputation I have acquired for justice and liberality.’

“ On my mentioning the report that the Grand Seignor had declared, should his fleet be destroyed, he would order a general massacre of all his Christian subjects, His Highness did not, to my surprise, scout it as an idle rumour, but said such an act would be in direct opposition to the Mohammedan faith, and that if the Grand Seignor should perpetrate the horrible deed, he would not look upon him as a Mussulman, but as an infidel.

"The Viceroy is evidently in a most delicate situation ; he is probably watching the course of events, which he hopes in case of war will present some conjunction of which he may with his usual address avail to secure the advantages of neutrality without incurring the weighty consequences of a rupture with the Porte ; meanwhile he omits no preparation for his defence that is in his power. The bad state of his finances, which keeps the pay of his dependents continually nine months in arrear, does not permit him to augment his troops of the new discipline.

"It is impossible to say what the exact number of the Bedouin Arabs in his pay here may be ; they are perhaps from 5,000 to 6,000. They are tolerably well mounted, but instead of their ancient weapons, the lance and case-knife, carry a rusty carbine or sabre, and sometimes a pistol. The great deficit in the Viceroy's finances proceeds from the serious drain caused by his efforts in carrying on the war in the Morea, and by two bad years (1824-5) of the inundation of the Nile, to which must be added the various expenses and ruinous

manufacturing undertakings, the buildings of a mole and dockyard, and several magnificent palaces, that vie in splendour with the most costly of the serails of the Sultan ; and when we take into consideration that all these great enterprises must depend upon a revenue which in the most plentiful years falls short of £4,000,000 sterling, we cannot be surprised at the Vice-roy's pecuniary embarrassments, but rather that with such means the machinery of this extraordinary government is still kept going.

“ I have the honour to be, etc.,

“ JOHN BARKER.

“ Consul and acting as Consul-General in Egypt.”

“ FRANCIS WERRY, Esq.,  
“ Smyrna.

“ ALEXANDRIA, March 26th, 1827.

“ . . . The grand ceremony which took place on Soliman Pacha’s arrival seems to have pleased the people greatly. Abbas Pacha, with about 1,000 officers on horseback, went out to meet him at Shoubra, and everything was done to display great magnificence. It is singular, however, that no *hatti shereef*, or

firman, has yet been publicly read. The Grand Seignor has expressed his desire that the Pacha should not leave Egypt himself, and consequently all idea of his putting him at the head of the expedition has been abandoned. Ibraheem Pacha is to command by sea and land, if Lord C. does not spoil their plans. The Greeks will be hard put to it, I fear.

"A Maltese vessel came in here on the 23rd completely stripped of every available article by a band of seventy pirates possessing a small kind of Arab barque, and two others not bigger than lighters, and inhabiting two rocks close to the Gozo of Candia, said to be the same horde of buccaneers who killed so many of the crew of the *Sibyl*. This ship was loaded with karnoubs, wines and spirits, and hams, at Cyprus, and bound for Malta: they did not leave a cable, nor a spar, nor a sail. They took in money about 300 dollars,—all there was; and the amount of the whole property taken is estimated by the captain at about 2,000 dollars. He says the first words addressed to him by the chief of the robbers were:—'Come, produce all the money you have

on board, or we will cut all your throats. Don't suppose we are Greeks, and hope for restitution ; we are pirates.' The captain thinks these banditti are abetted and supported by the Turks on shore, and is of opinion that a ship of war would lose many men in the attempt to destroy them. Captain Brace thinks they could be easily captured by putting fifty men on board a merchant brig, which by flying and being pursued would decoy the pirates on board, and then they would all become a certain prey to a body of men in ambush on the deck."

When Mr. Barker saw the extraordinary amount of expenses which the Viceroy had to meet in fitting out and equipping his fleet and army, he could not understand how he managed; for it was a fact of public notoriety that every one in his service was months in arrears of pay, and yet all went on as usual. He writes :—

" May 24th, 1827.

" Meh'met Ali Pacha is ruined ; he can no longer pay any one. The son of Somaripa, a young man of twenty-five years of age, went yesterday to Mr. Boghoz with the excellent

recommendation of Mr. Drovetti, hoping to enter the Pacha's service. Boghoz said, 'A place you can have, but you must not ask for your pay, for we cannot pay any one.' On these conditions Somaripa declined, and has asked me to employ him as dragoman, which I refused for more than one reason."

But Mr. Barker soon began to understand how it all came about. He writes :—

" *May 30th, 1827.*

" I confess before I came here I thought His Highness sent his goods to be sold in Europe exactly in the same way that a private merchant is in the habit of doing ; that is, that he wrote two lines to his correspondent, saying, ' By the —, Captain —— I have consigned to your address so many thousand bales of cotton ; retire the same as per bill of lading, pay the freight thereof, sell the goods to my best advantage, hold the nett proceeds at my disposal in account current.' Well, thought I, it will not be impossible for me to prevail upon Boghoz, upon my giving my guarantee for my brother in Genoa, to engage him to make him some good consignments in

that way. But I found matters in a very different situation. The Pacha has, by dear-bought experience, learnt that the merchants, when he is compelled to trust them, cheat him. He knows, too, that if they acted honestly towards him his best way of disposing of his cotton would be to bring the bales on the quays of Alexandria, and there sell them to the best bidder for ready money ; but being engulfed in enterprises that require pecuniary resources which all his revenues, great as they are, cannot supply, he is compelled, in order to raise ready money, to say to the merchant, ‘ I have so many thousand bales of cotton which I will undertake to deliver to you in three, four, or six months ; you shall advance me now nine-tenths of the value of the goods, and then I will consign them to your correspondent in Europe for sale on my account.’ The cottons are then of course promised to the best bidders ; and such is the competition in every branch of commerce that people are found to consent to strike bargains with him upon very hard terms ; those with the French houses that he has lately made, at thirteen dollars per kintal, payable a third, or

half, or two-thirds, immediately, and the rest on delivery, are looked upon by many of my friends with whom I have conversed as ruinous. The probability is that the account sales of the cottons will balance on the wrong side, and then the merchant is completely at the mercy of the Pacha, who, it is said, has a wonderful talent of drawing in by hard bargains and liberal promises the merchant with whom he deals, so as to contrive that he should be their debtor. A common manœuvre of his to obtain that end is that at the time he consigns the cottons he gives commissions for expensive machinery, marble basins, etc., the cost of which he knows will much exceed the nett proceeds of his goods,<sup>1</sup> but which he hopes the merchant in Europe will be fool enough to execute rather than risk the loss of His Highness' favour by disappointing him in things on which he has laid great stress."

"Rev. JOSEPH WOLFF.

"ALEXANDRIA, Oct. 16th, 1827.

"I have had this instant the pleasure of

<sup>1</sup> This manœuvre is a well-known one, and is called by the Orientals, "Holding a man's beard in their hands."

receiving your favour of the 20th ult., announcing your intention, as soon as Lady Georgiana would be in a condition to travel, of paying us a visit at Alexandria on your way to Jerusalem. We are quite delighted at the idea of our having in a few months the opportunity of making the personal acquaintance of your good lady. We flatter ourselves with the hope that you will, on the score of ancient friendship, condescend to alight at our dwelling and honour us with your company during the whole time you may sojourn in this place. You know how straightly lodged are all the rest of your friends in Alexandria; and as to Lady G. putting up with the wretched accommodation she could obtain at our inn, that is out of the question.

“ At any rate, in vying with our other friends for the pleasure of having you for our guests, I trust I shall be as early as any in my present application if any opportunity should soon offer for transmitting you this letter.

“ Mrs. Barker is not so well pleased with her change of residence, but hitherto, thank God, we have not had any serious indisposition, and I hope Mrs. Barker may yet be reconciled to her

situation. For my part, I always say, with Epictetus, ‘I am in the station in which it has pleased God to place me.’

“All your friends here and, as far as I know, at Aleppo and Beyrouth, are well. My little girl desires to be remembered to you, and, with her mother, joins me in presenting our best respects to Lady G. and yourself.

“R. Coster, your convert, begs leave to present his compliments.”

Mr. Barker writes to his sister:—

“ALEXANDRIA, 25th December, 1827.

“You cannot conceive the heavy expenses I am obliged to bear, and if Government should not grant fixed salaries to the cancelliers, dragomans, and cawasses, I shall be the worst-paid Consul in the service, and one who has the most laborious duties to perform. My pecuniary embarrassments will have no end as long as I continue to bear the burdens of maintaining all the subaltern officers of the Consulates here and at Cairo, with the enormous sum that I am obliged to pay for house rent and all other

public disbursements, of flags, flag-staffs, hospital contributions, veils to Turkish officers and servants, dinners to Consuls, captains of men-of-war, distinguished travellers, etc.<sup>1</sup> Talking of the plague in Egypt, if you had known the history of that disorder in Alexandria for a century back, you would have seen that this place has been generally visited by the plague for eight or ten years successively, and free from it for an equal period. In Syria the plague never continues for more than three years successively, and visits the country every fifteen years, a year or two more or less.

“In Syria there has not been any further talk of the plague, but it is probable it will be more destructive next summer than it was the last. The history of that disorder in Aleppo shows that in the first year it is comparatively mild, the second it rages violently, the third it is as the first year, and the fourth it ceases entirely, not to return for twelve or fourteen years.”

Whatever may be the cause of its periodical visits, the sanitary measures adopted in Europe

<sup>1</sup> Referring to his not having been instructed to draw for his salary and expenses.

have prevented its appearance ; a glaring argument in favour of quarantine. If even the *unanimous* testimony of the East for centuries be rejected, namely, that it is contagious, this fact must go far to prove the utility of quarantine and sanitary "cordons," until the germ be worn out and disappear altogether. When the European colony at Aleppo were "shut up" during the many years Mr. Barker lived there, a case of plague very rarely occurred, and when it did it was always traced to some imprudence or violations of the rules of quarantine.

A nurse, who had let down a string from the top of the terrace into the street, in order to have an apple drawn up for a crying child, once introduced the disease into the colony ; and the fact is recorded in the registers of the Consulates.<sup>1</sup>

Precaution against *contact* is the only remedy known in the East; and by strictly enforcing this rule, hundreds of plague seasons have been tided over successfully at Constantinople, at Smyrna, at Alexandria, and at Aleppo.

<sup>1</sup> See Note, vol. i., p. 332.

On an excursion to Rosetta and the Nile, he says, speaking of the appearance the banks of the Nile presented :—

“ I am just returned from a party of pleasure of five days, in a journey to Rosetta by the Canal and by the Nile. The first signs of vegetation that I saw were a few willows, before which I felt inclined to fall prostrate. As I proceeded, the scene became more and more picturesque, till, when I found myself in the middle of the Father of Waters, sailing in a convenient bark, with all the rapidity that a strong current and a fresh breeze could give, I felt the most delightful sensation I ever experienced. The strong perfume of the orange flowers informed us of our approach to the innumerable orange groves of Rosetta at the incredible distance of three miles at least. But a sight that filled me with wonder was a heap of 15,000 bales of cotton at a place called Atfeh ; and on my arrival at Rosetta I contemplated with equal surprise a quantity of beans in sacks that literally formed a mountain, on which travellers climb up, as affording the only eminence from which a grand view of the town and

adjacent country can be had ! These are some of the wonders of the land of Egypt, for which it is so famous. I had also much satisfaction in viewing the forty machines for husking the rice, two very fine cotton mills, and a magnificent manufactory of the finest sort of the morocco fez, or red cap,—which the Europeans, with all their ingenuity, have never been able to equal. Three or four thousand people are employed in these works, and they now proceed without the assistance of a single European.”

Early in 1828 the Ambassadors of the Allied Powers left Constantinople, and the Consuls in all the Ottoman dominions received orders to strike their flags, with the exception of Egypt. “ Not one English or French or Russian merchant at Alexandria had the least thought of leaving, such was the general confidence entertained in the Viceroy’s character and professions.”

Lady Georgiana Wolff, on the 15th February, was an inmate of Mr. Barker’s house, awaiting the arrival of her husband, Dr. Wolff, from Smyrna. Major-General Elphinstone, Governor

of Bombay, was there also, intending to visit Syria.

By the death of Mr. Salt, His Majesty's Consul-General in Egypt, which took place in October 1827, Mr. Barker had now all the political, as well as the commercial, affairs to superintend and transact.

A few months before his death, at the end of the spring of the past year, the British Government had sent the Hon. R. Hobart Cradock to the Viceroy on a very secret mission. He went up to Cairo with Mr. Salt, and had an audience; but what was the nature of his mission never transpired. He left Egypt on the 26th August, 1827, in company with Lord Prudhoe and Major Felix, for Smyrna, in His Majesty's ship *Pelican*. After his departure, Mr. Salt wrote to Mr. Barker in a private letter :—

“ Major Cradock left this last night, for Alexandria. Everything has passed as pleasantly as could be expected. The Pacha invited him to dinner, and he had a gold sabre presented at parting; the answer is, as might be expected, in general terms, depending on

the motions of the Grand Seignor. . . . The Ambassador seems to think that he and his colleagues may have to quit; I am afraid, if the Grand Seignor sticks out, that the crisis will not be a pleasant one."

Mr. Barker observes on this paragraph, "The blade of the sword or sabre was not worth 50 piasters [10s.]."

Colonel Cradock came a second time on a secret mission, arriving on the 9th February, 1828, and had an audience of the Viceroy. His Highness adopted the usual Oriental plan of procrastination, in the hope something might turn up, and refused to return a reply to the British Government until he had sent a Tartar to Constantinople *by land*, through Syria and Asia Minor, and received an answer. Colonel Cradock was therefore under the necessity of remaining in Egypt, which he did fifty days, for he left on the 30th March, 1828.<sup>1</sup>

His Highness carried into practice the well-known Oriental story of the Sultan who commanded a schoolmaster to teach an ass to read, on pain of death. The poor wretch, seeing the

<sup>1</sup> The answer by sea could have been obtained in fifteen days.

bowstring before his eyes, said to the Sultan, “I do not despair of doing what you command, for all your Majesty’s orders must be obeyed; but as children require a year to learn, and a man grown up two years, a donkey would certainly require three years.” This the Sultan found reasonable, and granted. On going home, his wife said to the school-master, “How can you be such a goose as to expect to escape? the time must come when you will be put to death!” “No,” said he, “I have three chances—either that the Sultan should die, or the donkey should die, or that I should die myself.”

The secret mission could not have been considered by the Viceroy very important, for Mr. Barker, in a letter to Colonel Cradock, says :—“There was no Tartar, but my application to Mr. Boghoz led to an *éclaircissement*, which I think right to communicate to you. Mr. Boghoz said that His Highness’ orders to him were, ‘When the Tartar arrives, send me the dispatches and I will let you know whether it will be necessary for you to come to Jafferieh [a village], or whether I

shall communicate to you by writing what you can state verbally to Colonel Cradock."

He writes to Colonel Cradock about the promulgation of the Hatti Shereef, which he declares he has not heard has been published in Syria. No doubt it did not create any sensation, or he would have heard of it. The Hatti Shereef here referred to (there have been so many) was one the Sultan Mahmoud, determined to be the first this time to declare war against Russia, issued on the 20th December, 1827; in which, addressing the Pachas of his empire, he recited the wrongs he had endured from Russia, among which he classed the unjust extortion of the treaty of Akerman; and he called on all true Mussulmans to resist the foe, whose object was to destroy Islamism and the people of Mahomet.

"Colonel the Hon. K. CRADOCK,

"ALEXANDRIA, 20th March, 1828.

"We have had two arrivals from Leghorn, which bring extracts from the Paris papers up to the 23rd February. They speak of the great sensation that was made in Europe by the Hatti

Shereef, particularly in France and Russia ; and the letters of the merchants, of the 1st March, from Leghorn, speak despondingly of peace being maintained, attributing the sudden failure of their hopes of an accommodation *à l'amiable*, to the publication of the Hatti Shereef, which, it is said, created so great an exasperation in the public mind in the capital of the French nation, that a riot actually occurred. This, I should imagine, is a newspaper exaggeration of the effect produced by the document in question ; but it shows that the people, at least in Europe, whatever their rulers may be, are disposed to sanction a new crusade against the Grand Turk. The religious hopes of those who have faith in the prophecies that the reign of Islamism is approaching its end, are greatly excited by the remarkable coincidence that the three champions whom God has chosen to fight His holy battles are the heads of the three principal branches of the Christian communities—the Protestant, the Roman Catholic, and the Greek. But to return to the famous Hatti Shereef. Before so much is said about it, it ought first to be proved that it has been promulgated. Here,

hitherto, we have no evidence of its having been received by the Viceroy, nor issued in the neighbouring Pachalics of Syria. I am awaiting anxiously advices from that quarter, of which I have been some time deprived; because if such an extraordinary document had been read in the Mehkamehs of Aleppo and Acre, my correspondents in those places would not have failed to inform me of it."

Soon after, he heard of what the Russians said in their Manifesto, in defence of their prosecution of the war, and he writes to Lord Prudhoe on the subject. Far from the scene of those events, he could not appreciate their true bearings; but his great experience in Turkish affairs led him to wish that the Porte should be brought to a sense of its position in regard to the Christian Powers of Europe.

"**Lord PRUDHOE.**

"**ALEXANDRIA, 14th June, 1828.**

"I have seen a copy of the Russian Manifesto, in which none of the peremptory demands reported to have been made therein are

to be found. It is a formal declaration of war, conceived in the usual terms, which sets forth the numerous causes of complaint against the Porte: for the non-execution of the treaties of Bucharest and Akerman; for its disregard of its most solemn engagements avowed in the Hatti Shereef; and, above all, for the renewal of hostilities to which the Porte resolved, after the departure of the Allied Ambassadors; for seizing the cargoes of Russian and other vessels, and paying further on an arbitrary valuation, and in depreciated currency; and, lastly, for shutting up the Black Sea. The Manifesto speaks, of course, a great deal of the great sacrifices made by the late Emperor and his successor for the maintaining of the peace of Europe, and of the extreme regret with which Nicholas has at length unsheathed the sword for the sole purpose of compelling the Porte to fulfil the stipulations of the treaties of Bucharest and Akerman, to carry into effect the treaty of Scodra, and, as a natural consequence, to hold the Porte responsible for the expenses of a war which its own obstinacy and bad faith have rendered indispensable."

After reading this Manifesto, he writes :—

“ ALEXANDRIA, 20th June, 1828.

“ You will probably, soon after, have received intelligence which will have inclined you to alter your opinion, as well of the forces of this empire to resist an attack of the Russians, as of the insecurity of the lives and properties of the Europeans in Turkey. We who are here have no apprehensions of the consequences of actual hostilities with the Turks. They are never so well inclined to be reasonable and civil to us as at the very moment that the arm of our Government is raised to chastise them. The orders of the Porte to the different Pachas for the protection of the Franks were never so strict nor so well observed as since the departure of the Ambassadors.”

And again, to another friend :—

“ We are perfectly tranquil here, and, indeed, in every part of Turkey ; if, therefore, the mere lifting up of the arm had so good an effect on the Turks, what may we not expect from a good drubbing ? ”

“FRANCIS WERRY, Esq.,

“Smyrna.

“ALEXANDRIA, 29th June, 1828.

“I am only anxious that the Porte should not accede to the terms of peace before the Russian armies have given the Turks another proof of their superiority. I consider them now as sound hand and foot, ready to receive the strokes of the bastinado; and it ought to be applied till they cry ‘Aman!’ [mercy]. Until that operation is well performed, our situation in Turkey cannot be agreeable; but if proper advantage be taken of a Russian victory, and new capitulations are imposed upon the Grand Seignor, Europeans here will enjoy the most perfect state of civil liberty that human institutions have yet afforded.”

The bastinado has always been spoken of in reference to Turkey, but this punishment, which was inflicted by beating on the soles of the feet, was not confined to Turkey, but was also practised in Persia and in Central Asia.

A story is related of a man who was undergoing this punishment, and who kept constantly crying out,—

“ Oh my back! <sup>1</sup> oh my back! oh my back ! ”

“ You fool ! ” said the byestanders to him, “ it is not on your back, but on your feet, that you are suffering.”

“ Ah ! ” said he, “ if I had had some powerful patron *at my back*, to protect me, I should not be now under the stick. It is the want of this assistance which makes me bewail my ‘ back ’ and my ill luck ! ”

<sup>1</sup> The word “ back,” in the Arabic and Turkish languages, is always used in the sense above—of strength and support.

## CHAPTER V.

Rain in Egypt.—Mr. Barker's Opinion on Turkish Ideas and Politics in a Letter to Col. Cradock.—Greek Slaves brought to Alexandria.—Meh'med Ali's Dilemma.—Treaty for the Evacuation of the Morea.—Etiquette on Lord Yardborough's Reception by the Viceroy.—Liberation of Slaves.—Mohammedan Renegades punished by death.—Mr. Barker's conduct approved by the Minister for Foreign Affairs.—His Experience in treating Fever expressed in a Letter to Dr. Wolff.—Abdallah Pacha repays a large sum lent him.—The Russian Consul-General expulsed from Egypt.

ON the 31st January, 1828, the town of Alexandria was visited by a storm of wind, and very heavy rain. Proverbially, “it never rains in Egypt;” but when it does rain, “it pours.” Mr. Barker writes:—

“ My house is so close to the sea that in this storm, which has lasted for ten days past, the waves have reached and even penetrated our kitchen door. This is an indifferent matter; but although I pay £220 rent a year, the rain has penetrated through the roof in such a way as to oblige us to abandon our first floor. Lady Georgiana Wolff, who came here

from Malta in the *Glasgow*, and is waiting for her husband, who is at Smyrna, was obliged one night to place an umbrella over her head and her infant while in bed in the best room in our house. Rain is an evil so little provided against in Cairo that the late Mr. Salt and his wife, in one of the best houses there, one night, four years ago, found no shelter from the 'drip' from the roof, but under the billiard-table! I mention this to prove the incorrectness of most travellers' reports "that it never rains in Egypt." It penetrated through the roof, and came in and prevented our rest during all last night."

Mr. Barker remarks a gradual change in the disposition of the Turks towards Europeans, which he attributes to the progress of civilization, and to their having been beaten by the Russians. Still, at the time he arrived at Alexandria, the Porte refused, point blank, to recognise *two* Consuls in Egypt. Upon his appointment, His Majesty's Ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning, could only obtain a firman for his recognition by the fiction of Mr. Salt having resigned.

In considering the approaching war with Russia, and the measures Sultan Mahmoud would adopt when pressed hard by that Power, Mr. Barker shows a profound knowledge of the Turkish character and ideas, pointing to the *denouement* which has been so long held in suspense, and of which probably it will be our fate to see the close:—

(*Private.*)

“Colonel the Hon. ROBERT CRADOCK,

“ALEXANDRIA, 17th March, 1828.

“MY DEAR SIR,—

“ . . . I agree entirely with the gallant Admiral’s [Sir Frederick Adam] system of dealing with Turks. In my long experience of them, I never knew a decided tone fail of producing a most marked effect. The pacific and conciliatory tenor of the King’s speeches will certainly have the worst effect possible on the councils of the Divan, and the return of the plenipotentiaries will assuredly have the same tendency.

“In my endeavours to reconcile the conduct of the Sultan with the ordinary rules of human action, I have been led to conclude that he has

come to the determination of refusing all concession by the following reasoning :—

“ ‘The Franks envy us our possessions in Europe, and must sooner or later drive us into Asia. This would have been done twenty years before I mounted the throne had it been possible to divide Constantinople among them; but, like a beautiful female captive, she has remained inviolate while in the power of banditti.

“ ‘They cannot yet agree whose prize she is to be, but a state of things so unprecedented in history cannot endure for ever. Like the Holy Prophet’s tomb, suspended in the air by equal powers of attraction, the least defect in the equilibrium will bring our empire to the ground. We are certainly living in the age when that deplorable event is to be expected. The insurrection of the Greeks was its precursor. It is followed by the treaty of London, which contains demands that we cannot grant without disgrace and dishonour. By dishonour we may purchase a few years of uncertain possession, but can have no prospect of a permanent and peaceful enjoyment. Let us not

then seek to put off the evil day, but now make the stand which, in a few years at most, we shall not have the option of evading.

“‘What can the English and French do? Burn our capital? Every twenty years it is burnt down from one end to the other. They have therefore no hope to bend our will but by a Russian army at Constantinople. Will they and the Austrians consent to that? Say they will. Suppose them arrived at Tophane, we can only suffer, now, what we shall be compelled to suffer soon. We will make a glorious resistance. We will retreat to Broussa, Adana, Aleppo, and Damascus; but the honour of the Khalifate will remain unimpaired.’

“If Mahmoud is the man I take him to be, that was his speech in the Divan; and you will, I think, agree with me that his true policy is therein traced out.”

He speaks of the arrival of the fleet on its return from Greece :—

“ALEXANDRIA, Feb. 1st, 1828.

“Moharrem Bey has brought with him 20,000 persons, including the crews, and 5,500 wretched

Greek slaves, chiefly young women and children.

"The number of ships returned are :—

<i>Belonging to the Viceroy.</i>		<i>Belonging to the Sultan.</i>	
60-Gun Frigate . . . .	1	Line-of-Battle Ship, not yet in Harbour . .	1
Corvettes . . . .	5	44-Gun Frigates . . . .	4
Brigs of War . . . .	11	Corvettes . . . .	4
Turkish Transports . .	21		
	—		—
	88		9
Sail in all . . . . .		47	

"Ibraheem has provisions for three or four months. This you may depend upon."

On the return of the fleet with the prisoners, Mr. Barker anticipated a great deal of difficulty on account of the business of the Greek slaves, who were by treaty to be delivered to him. These slaves did not include 200 prisoners of war who had been released soon after the fleet's arrival, and had been sent back to Egina in a couple of troop ships; but they consisted chiefly of young women and children, who, after the battle of Navarino, were brought to Egypt by the relics of Moharrem Bey's fleet. They had been distributed among the harems of Alexandria and Cairo; and although Meh'med Ali had promised to assist in their recovery,

it seemed very doubtful to Mr. Barker to what extent the Viceroy's authority could be exercised in compelling their present owners to deliver them up on any but exorbitant terms.

On the 30th July, 1828, Commodore Campbell, of the *Ocean*, was sent with an officer (son of Nejeeb Effendee), from the part of Ibra-heem Pacha, then in the Morea, to communicate to his father that the Allied Powers were pressing him to retire into Roumelia, or upon Patras; and they demanded of Meh'med Ali, in conformity with the Protocol of the 6th July, that he should give his son orders to this effect, and send transports for his soldiers. The Viceroy had to choose between two momentous evils: the loss of his army and of his son; or, in the event of the establishment of peace, to be declared a rebel and an outlaw.

The Admiral, Sir Edward Codrington, arrived at Alexandria, hoping to persuade the Viceroy to accede to the demands of the Allies, and to take pratique,<sup>1</sup> so that he might escape

<sup>1</sup> "Pratique" means being freely allowed to go out of quarantine.

being put into quarantine on his return to Malta.

In the meantime, tidings arrived of the complete destruction by the Russian forces of the Sultan's grand army of 150,000, and 600 cannon,—which no doubt was a great exaggeration; but it is very probable the news of that defeat may have turned the balance in the Viceroy's mind in favour of recalling his son and of taking the risk of the Sultan's displeasure.

After a week's negotiation, Mr. Barker had the satisfaction of bringing to a happy termination the treaty with the Viceroy for the evacuation of the Morea, which was signed at Alexandria by Sir Edward Codrington in person on the 9th August, 1828. His Excellency left on the 11th, and the Egyptian transports for the purpose of bringing back the army from the Morea, left, accompanied by Commodore Campbell, on the 13th August.

On the suggestion of Lord Prudhoe, Mr. Barker took the most effectual steps to release an Englishwoman who had been brought from the Morea and placed in the harem of one of

the Viceroy's officers at Cairo, and after a good deal of writing and difficulty he succeeded.

At this time he was engaged in a joint effort with Mr. Drovetti, French Consul-General, in endeavouring to procure the liberation and ransom of the Greek slaves; a point of much difficulty, for the Viceroy could not seize and take them away by force from the individuals who had paid for them, and compel them to agree to compensation which did not tally with the fictitious value they placed on them.

On the 15th August Lord Yarborough and his two sons arrived in a yacht, and it was necessary that Mr. Barker should arrange with Mr. Boghoz respecting his lordship's first visit, and that he should be received by the Viceroy while standing, and should have the distinction of the pipe conferred on him.

Mr. Barker says, in a letter to Lord Prudhoe :—

“ ALEXANDRIA, 21st August, 1828.

“ I am this instant returned from the Palace, where I had the honour to present Lord

Yarborough and his two sons to the Pacha, who received his lordship standing in the middle of the room, and gave him two pipes.<sup>1</sup> That is now an etiquette which I have settled for Englishmen of Lord Yarborough's rank, so that, in future, no negotiation will be necessary, but I shall have merely to inform the Pacha of the rank of the person."

In regard to the liberation of the slaves, Mr. Barker had instructions from Sir Stratford Canning (now Lord Stratford de Redcliffe), the Ambassador, to ransom slaves to the amount of £500, and then let him know. The French liberated 180, the cost of some being more than 100 dollars. Out of 6,000, not more than 400 availed of the boon, for the greater part preferred to remain in Egypt.

He writes :—

"Mrs. Barker is busy preparing the slaves for their embarkation, to-morrow morning, or this evening, for Syra. Some of them are extremely exacting, and all ungrateful."

<sup>1</sup> Coffee is offered to every one in Turkey, but the pipe is only presented to those of equal, or nearly equal, rank.

On the application of the woman who had been liberated at the instance of Lord Prudhoe, that her brother, who was also in captivity at Cairo, should be liberated at the same time as herself, Mr. Barker interested himself and applied to the Viceroy, but failed in effecting that object. He says :—

“ Lord PRUDHOE,

“ etc.      etc.

“ ALEXANDRIA, 1st Sept., 1828.

“ . . . I have seen His Highness to-day, and have failed in my endeavours to engage him to send an order for the release of the brother of the Englishwoman, as the Pacha was unwilling to admit the *principle* that a slave’s simple declaration of having been forced to turn Turk should authorize our demanding, as a right, that he should be given up ; he said that there was no crime in the Mohammedan law visited with greater punishment than for a man who had once professed himself to be a Turk to declare that he was no longer so. This was what he called ‘making a joke of religion.’ ”

Shortly before this time, Mr. Barker was ap-

pointed by the Court of Directors for Affairs of the East India Company, their agent in Egypt, with a salary of £100 per annum,—which was in reality nothing more than the amount of the pension they had given him for his *important* services during nineteen years!—exemplifying the truth of the opinion expressed by Mr. Barker to Sir Robert Liston when advocating the cause of the British Consular agents on the coast of Syria, that public bodies are liable to be harsh and unjust. We annex an extract from that letter, which may perhaps appear appropriate:—

“ALEXANDRETTA, 6th May, 1818.

“ . . . I am delighted to find you really so much in earnest in the project of engaging Government, or the Company, to do justice to the humble agents on the coast. The reasons alleged for justifying their neglect of your Excellency’s representations are specious, but in my opinion by no means satisfactory,—Why, if a poor man, a stranger, and a foreigner has been useful to me, shall I turn my back upon him and say, ‘It is true you have been

accidentally placed in a situation in which you have for a long course of time rendered me some essential service, but an invariable rule with me is to pay only my cook, valet, and groom, because they are *regularly* appointed to do all that I can possibly be in need of? Although public bodies in England are, I trust, generally composed of men of honourable feeling, yet when they are called upon to act in a collective capacity they are always colder than ice, and guilty of a harshness of conduct of which individually they would be ashamed."

On the 6th October, 1828, two years after his arrival in Egypt, Mr. Barker received from the Foreign Office instructions regulating the salaries of the subordinate officers under him in Egypt, with permission to draw for his and their salaries; and he had at the same time the satisfaction of learning that his conduct in the matter of the Greek slaves had met with Lord Aberdeen's approbation.

He writes to his brother-in-law on this subject as follows:—

“ J. S. RICHARDS, Esq.

“ Milford.

“ ALEXANDRIA, 27th October, 1828.

“ . . . At the same time I received orders to draw for these allowances, I had the pleasure to know that my conduct respecting the Greek slaves had met Lord Aberdeen’s approbation. The words ‘approval’ and ‘his lordship approves’ occur twice in the same dispatch from the Foreign Office,—which is very sparingly used. I have not yet received the acknowledgment of my dispatch conveying the treaty of the 9th August for the evacuation of the Morea, in which I hope my conduct will also have met his lordship’s approval.”

He was not disappointed. He received, soon after, the satisfaction of knowing that his conduct had been approved.

“ JAMES CALVEET, Esq.,

“ Malta.

“ ALEXANDRIA, 12th Oct., 1828.

“ Ibraheem Pacha and the whole of his army have come in, accompanied by His Majesty’s ship *Dartmouth* and another European man-of-war. We were surprised to see

15,000 men added to the former 5,000 still subsisting of that army, which is about half the number sent to the Morea at different times. 400 Greek women chose to accompany their Arab husbands to Egypt."

At the same time that so many Greek women were pining in slavery at Cairo with no hope of being able to return to their native land, other women of the same race left it to follow the miserable Arab soldiers and live at Cairo !

In the meantime, Dr. Wolff had arrived, and gone to Cairo with his lady and little daughter. He had an intention then of going to Jeddah, and asked Mr. Barker to procure a letter from the Viceroy. This plan he afterwards abandoned, and went to Syria.

"Rev. J. WOLFF.

"ALEXANDRIA, 6th Oct., 1828.

"DEAR WOLFF,—

"I am labouring under a very painful and, at my time of life, uncommon disorder, the hooping cough.<sup>1</sup>

"Yesterday, the Greek Deacon of Cyprus pre-

<sup>1</sup> He was then fifty-seven years of age.

sented your letter of recommendation, which will procure him my best attention. Your letters for England have been put under cover to Dr. Naudi at Malta, with a request that he will forward them. This friend writes to me that he sends a packet of letters and a little box to Mr. Tod for Lady Georgiana.

"In regard to Jeddah, I have not yet been able to get from the Viceroy a letter for you, but I hope to procure it in time.

"I will consult with Mr. Tod whether it should be forwarded to you at Damietta or Cairo. I do not know what to say to your idea of Lady Georgiana giving lessons to the Pacha's daughters. Such a proposition, you know, could not with propriety be made by me. When her ladyship is at Cairo, she may readily get admission to the harems, and make whatever offers of any kind she may think proper.

"I was very sorry to hear you had a return of your Cyprus fever. If you 'stopt' it by bark, I fear you must reckon on having returns of it every month till next summer, or, indeed, till a twelvemonth has revolved from the period of your first attack. But if you let Nature take

her own course, and instead of the tonic system you follow the opposite one of bleeding, vegetables, and low diet, when the fits come on, they will not return. In a fever I caught at Damascus, I found, after trying the bark, living on roast meat, and drinking wine for eight months, that by following the opposite plan I recovered my health in a short time, and had no more ‘returns.’ The history of the illness of two persons who caught the fever at the same time and in the same place with myself, was exactly similar to mine.”

When Mr. Barker was enabled to get into the new house he had taken in the “New Okella,” near the sea, he congratulated himself on having providentially escaped with his family falling victims to the malaria, or unhealthiness of the house which Mr. Thurburn had let to him in the gardens, and the high rent that he paid was well spent. He writes :—

“ ALEXANDRIA, 11th Nov., 1828.

“ We have lately lost poor Mr. Thurburn, who was carried off by a fever of the malaria of their house in the country. No less than four

persons besides Mr. Salt died in this house last year, and five or six this autumn."

Mr. Barker records truthfully a circumstance in favour of Abdallah Pacha of Acre, but does not make any comment on the reasons which led this inhuman monster to act justly and honourably.

"Lord PRUDHOE,

"etc. etc.

"ALEXANDRIA, 22nd Nov., 1828.

" . . . I have just heard a well-authenticated fact which is extremely rare in the annals of Turkish Governors. Seven years ago, Abdallah Pacha of Acre borrowed 150,000 piasters [about £1,500] of the merchants, principally European, of Latakia. He has now punctually paid every man what he owed him, saying he would have sooner discharged these debts had not the Porte soon after he contracted them taken from him the Pachalic of Tripoli, in which is Latakia. So you see that Abdallah is not so bad as he is represented to be."

No doubt can be entertained that the truth was that Abdallah Pacha found himself in great

fear of being overpowered by Meh'met Ali, who had long planned the conquest of Syria ; and seeing what influence the Powers in Europe exercised in the councils and fate of Turkey and Egypt, he was determined to make a virtue of necessity, and make a friend of the mammon of unrighteousness, the Ghiaours, and obtain the good word, and perhaps assistance, of Europe by the fame of this unheard-of restitution ; for the excuse he brings forward as the cause of the delay in payment is childish. The Porte at this time had no authority at all in Syria, and could not "take from him" any Pachalic.

Such manœuvres are not uncommon in Pacha life. They profess to be able to " catch hares riding in bullock carts ;" which means, they gain their point more by patient cunning, treachery, and bribery, than by open force.<sup>1</sup>

" JOSEPH DUPUIS, Esq.,  
" Tripoli.

" ALEXANDRIA, 17th Jan., 1829.

" . . . Here, Mr. Drovetti [French Consul-General] and myself enjoy perfect tran-

<sup>1</sup> They have another proverb, " Osmanlee ghubzo fee dailo ;" which is, " The Osmanlee's bread is in his lap." That is, he

quillity, but our colleague, Mons. Pezzani, the Russian Consul-General, who had been living here on the sufferance of the Viceroy in an individual capacity, received a few days ago an order to leave the country as soon as the necessary arrangements for his departure could be made. It is said that step was taken on receipt of a fresh and pressing order from the Porte to that effect; but it is certain that ten days ago Mr. Pezzani gave great offence to the Pacha, by going, accompanied by *two* Janissaries, to pay his respects to His Highness on the occasion of his arrival from Cairo. The time was as ill-chosen as the visit was improper. It was on a Friday, when the Hall of Audience was naturally full of Ulema, or Oriental ecclesiastics. Mr. P. walked straight up to the Pacha, and, without waiting to be invited, took his seat next His Highness, before Moharem Bey, who is the Pacha's son-in-law, and Governor of the town. On Mr. P.'s retiring, it was asked, 'Who is that Frank?'—when the Pacha, with a presence

gets up and shakes off the crumbs which have fallen into his lap, and forgets he has partaken of your hospitality. This is said of the Turk, not the Arab, who is just the reverse.

of mind that will remind you of the anecdote of Brummel's wager that he would make the Prince of Wales ring the bell, said, 'He is the Russian Consul, whom I am going to send away.'

"Mr. Pezzani was no doubt unprepared for this expulsion, for he had during four months past been busily employed in making expensive alterations in a dwelling-house for the reception of his family, who are, it is said, at this moment on their way to Egypt."

## CHAPTER VI.

Mr. Barker appointed Consul-General in a flattering Letter from Lord Aberdeen.—Attempt to Poison Dr. Wolff at Jerusalem.—Quadrille danced on the Great Pyramid.—Meh'med Ali's Preparations against a Surprise.—Overflow of the Nile.—Monsieur de Cerisy and the Monkey.—Mount Sinai and the Oranges.—Important Mission entrusted to Mr. Barker.—Ibraheem Pacha harangues his Soldiers.—His Rank above his Fathers.

“Rev. JOSEPH WOLFF.

“ALEXANDRIA, 5th May, 1829.

“THE *Mosquito* arrived here in six days from Corfu, and brought me the agreeable news of my appointment to be His Majesty's Consul-General in Egypt, with most liberal allowances, which are at least £400 a year superior to those enjoyed by my predecessor in office, Mr. Salt. Lord Aberdeen informed me of my appointment in the most flattering terms imaginable. His words are:—

“‘I have much pleasure in approving of the discretion and judgment which you have manifested in conducting the public business which has recently devolved upon you as Acting

Consul-General in Egypt, and I have in consequence been happy to recommend you to the King to succeed the late Mr. Salt in that character.””

Lord Aberdeen’s letter is dated the 7th March, 1829.

In another letter to Dr. Wolff, which Mr. Barker sent him by a Copt who had come recommended by him for a free passage to Malta, and whom he was compelled to send back to Dr. Wolff at Jerusalem, because he had not been able to get him sent free of expense, but, on the contrary, had been obliged to pay himself for his maintenance at Alexandria, and to get him a free passage back in a Turkish vessel. He writes:—“I have been more explicit on this subject, in order that in future you should leave to me the choice of objects of charity; for, like Falstaff, I cannot bear compulsion.””

“ Rev. W. GOODALL,  
“ Malta.

“ ALEXANDRIA, 25th May, 1829.

“ DEAR SIR,—

“ I have letters from Jerusalem up to

the 30th April. Dr. Wolff was then labouring under indisposition,—not dangerous, a return of his ague, which he caught in Cyprus. Lady Georgiana was well; the Chief Rabbi had excommunicated such of his flock as should have any intercourse with Wolff. I do not think he will be able long to maintain his ground in Jerusalem against the formidable host of enemies by whom he is assailed, public and private. Our friends the missionaries Gobat, Kreuze, and Kugler (lately arrived), in Cairo, are all well. I beg you will recall me and my family to the kind remembrance of Mrs. Goodall and our friends in Malta.”

The next month he received the following letter from Dr. Wolff:—

“J. BARKER, Esq.

“ JERUSALEM, 19th May, 1829.

“ DEAR SIR,—

“ I have in haste to announce to you that, though we had established schools at Jerusalem with the approbation of the Patriarch, some of the bigoted Greek priests have not only compelled the Patriarch to

abolish the schools by publishing an excommunication, but have contrived matters so that poison has been given me by a Greek ; which would indubitably have laid me in my grave if Lady Georgiana had not given me castor oil, which brought it forth again. I am too weak, however, to write this myself, and I dictate it to my wife in order to inform you what happened to me.

“ Yours truly,

“ J. WOLFF.”

“ Rev. J. Wolff,  
“ Jerusalem.

“ ALEXANDRIA, 16th June, 1829.

“ DEAR WOLFF,—

“ Your letter of the 29th May reached my hands on the 13th inst., *via* Damietta. I need not say how sincerely my family and I, and your friends in Alexandria, sympathise with you and your dear lady in the misfortune that has befallen you ; nor in what abhorrence we hold the miscreant who attempted to take away your life. May God preserve you from a similar fate, and give you all other blessings ! But I trust your dearest friends will join me

in exhorting you to renounce the plan you had formed of making Jerusalem your home. You are among the fanatical barbarians of the fourteenth century, who persuade themselves that no means can be bad the end of which is the service of God. What security can there be for you in Jerusalem against assassination? In forwarding to Mr. Drummond the copy of your letter, I have ventured to express my opinion that you ought to quit Jerusalem. I also wrote to Dr. Naudi, of Malta, by a ship that sailed this morning, to inform him and your friends at Malta of what had occurred; who, as well as your friends here, will be anxiously looking for further advices of the state of your health. Believe me, my dear Wolff, no one takes a more lively concern in your welfare than he who, with kindest regards to Lady G., subscribes himself,

“Your devoted friend,

“J. BARKER.”

In the month of April Mr. Barker and his family had gone on a trip to Cairo, and on his return he writes:—

"J. BRADFIELD, Esq.,

"etc. etc.

"*ALEXANDRIA, 29th June, 1829.*

"We were amused in our trip to Cairo, by a view of the Pyramids, on the top of the largest of which my daughters danced a quadrille; but we met with so much disturbance from the heat and dust of Cairo that we were anxious to return to Alexandria, which we are glad is to be our usual residence in future."

On the 6th May Mr. Barker writes:—

"The departure of the Pacha's army for Syria is put off from day to day, and it is now announced that the Sultan consents to receive, in lieu of that aid, 1,000,000 dollars. This army was ostensibly to come to the assistance of the Sultan in the war against the Russians."

On this subject he writes again:—

"Major BARNWELL,

"Bombay.

"*ALEXANDRIA, 1st Sept., 1829.*

"We go on much as you left us. The Viceroy is making the most strenuous exer-

tions to raise the means for his defence in case the Sultan, after making peace with the Russians, should undertake to settle accounts with him. You will be surprised to hear that his disciplined troops are to the number of 50,000 men, besides 15,000 Arabs in his constant pay; a force, in his position, sufficient to enable him to cope successfully with any that his master could bring against him; but he will have to contend with the moral force of the head of the Mohammedan religion, which, although greatly diminished, is still, I think, not to be safely contested by a rebel Pacha. We have just heard of the preliminaries of peace having been signed at Adrianople."

Dr. Wolff and Lady Georgiana went from Cairo to Mount Sinai, and, having crossed the desert, went to Gaza in January 1829. From thence they went to Cyprus, after having passed through Beyrouth. They were nearly shipwrecked in crossing over to Cyprus.

The Nile overflowed its banks to such an extent in September 1829, that immense

damage was done to the crops, valued by Mr. Barker at 3,000,000 dollars. This unexpected misfortune prevented the Viceroy from coming to the Sultan's assistance in raising the first instalments of the indemnity to be paid to Russia; but it did not prevent his preparations for resisting any attack which might be made on him by the Porte, or by persons delegated by the Sultan to destroy his power. The news of the peace signed at Adrianople between Turkey and Russia, was very displeasing to him, who felt this would relieve the Sultan of a great load, and give him leisure to turn his thoughts to Egypt; particularly since this news did not come to him from the Porte (who had ceased for some time corresponding with him), but from his "Kapi-kehya," that is, his agent at Constantinople.

"Meanwhile his warlike preparations are as active as if he were in an actual state of war. He launched a 50-gun frigate last week; not built by Monsieur de Cerisy, but by a Turk who can neither read nor write."

Monsieur de Cerisy was a French ship-

builder, employed by the Viceroy. He had lately launched a 110-gun line-of-battle ship, and had on the stocks three more, besides frigates and corvettes. He inhabited the house next to that occupied by Mr. Barker in the Great Okell, but from some misunderstanding did not visit him: the fault could not have been on the part of the latter, for Mr. Barker had a large circle of acquaintances among the foreign society at Alexandria. An accident happened which widened the breach between them. On the Consul-General's terrace a monkey had been chained to the railing in fine sunny weather. One day this monkey broke his chain, and then, getting round the partition between the terraces, got through the window into Madame de Cerisy's boudoir. Here he found a basket of lace caps, veils, and handkerchiefs, and Brussels lace, which had just come from the laundress. The maid happened not to be in the room, but coming in shortly afterwards, screamed so loud at seeing the destruction the monkey was effecting among her mistress's delicate embroidery by tooth and nail that Monsieur de Cerisy

rushed to the rescue, seized the intruder by the tail, and, swinging him round, threw him out of the window into the courtyard of the Okell below. The monkey was not killed, but had one of the joints of his tail broken. The next day Monsieur de Cerisy sent to inquire how the monkey was, and in spite of the fullest apologies and regrets, persisted in believing the monkey had been purposely put over the terrace.

Mr. Barker's house at this time (as it had been, indeed, almost always at Aleppo, but in Alexandria more particularly) was full of gentlemen and lady travellers going up the Nile, and many going to Mount Sinai and Palestine. He was overwhelmed with work, receiving guests, writing despatches and letters, and directing everything. Mr. Sloane, his Vice-Consul, was entirely occupied by the Ionian and Maltese subjects, in the Cancelleria, and could not attend to any other business. Like Lucullus's, Mr. Barker's table was always laid, and dinners ready at any hour. He never knew when he could take his meals, for the Viceroy would frequently send for him, and keep

him two hours, talking on important matters. Being acquainted with many foreigners who were in the habit of breakfasting at eleven o'clock in the morning (*dejeuner à la fourchette*), his cook had always a dinner (for in reality it was a dinner) ready at that hour. Then, again, at one o'clock p.m., there was a substantial lunch for the English guests and friends, and dinner sometimes at seven, sometimes at eight, and even at nine. Supper at eleven o'clock, and a very substantial one.

A gentleman who had been invited to dinner by Mr. Barker happened once to forget the hour, and asked a mutual friend, "At what hour does the Consul-General dine?" and received for answer, "Any time between eleven o'clock in the morning and eleven o'clock at night."

He was constantly sending his dragoman (a special one for this object) to have firmans written out for travellers going to Upper Egypt, Mount Sinai, and to a monastery in the Desert of Sinai. Among the many who went to this last-mentioned and renowned monastery were an English clergyman and

his wife, and an amusing story is related of this excursion.

As crossing the desert could only be done on camels, two boxes are put on each side of the animal's back, called in Arabic "Mohaffeh," so that they should be like panniers. An awning is put on poles fastened to the outer corners of the boxes, which connects them together, and covers the travellers from the sun. The reverend gentleman got into one of these boxes, on a mattress and cushions, and his lady into the other. As the weather was very hot and dry, a large provision of oranges was brought to be taken with them; and as the gentleman was the lighter of the two, a larger quantity of oranges was put into his box as a make-weight.

Jogging along in the hot sun, the oranges were found to be very refreshing, but, buried in thought, the reverend gentleman consumed them so quickly, without reflecting that they were necessary as a counterpoise to his own weight, that his box, becoming lighter than the other, nearly turned over, and the other box came to the ground. Fortunately the camel

happened to be a docile animal, and stopped at once, so that no one was hurt.

Dr. Wolff wrote to Mr. Barker that he had been requested by the Muftee of Jerusalem to write to Egypt for a pair of pistols for him, and begged Mr. Barker would get them and send them. In reply, Mr. Barker told him that he would learn by a further experience in the East that this is always the way Turks ask for presents, and that no doubt this "commission" could not be an exception. Some years of experience are requisite before Europeans learn the real meaning of Oriental ideas, habits, and manœuvres, and sometimes many years.

Mr. Barker, from his experience, had no fear that Meh'med Ali would be unable to repel open force, but he feared the Porte might put in practice the usual means it has always employed to destroy rebel Pachas, that is, by treachery.

In the beginning of 1830, Mr. Barker was entrusted by Lord Aberdeen, principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with an important secret mission to the Viceroy, who was then at Cairo; and Mr. Barker went there. In a letter to Mr. Consul Abbott, he says:—

" PETER ABBOTT, Esq.,

" Beyrout.

" ALEXANDRIA, 16th March, 1830.

" You will be glad to learn that I was sent by our Government to Cairo on a very important mission to Meh'med Ali; much more important than those on which Colonel Cradock came twice during the time of Mr. Salt. The Pacha took that opportunity of complimenting me on the proof given by His Majesty's Government of their confidence in my judgment and discretion, and said, 'I am very glad that they have not sent me a third time Colonel Cradock' (for whom it is well known His Highness had conceived a personal dislike).

The Viceroy refused to assist the French in the conquest of Algeria. In the course of conversation with Mr. Barker, he more than once declared his fear they would one day take possession of the whole coast of Africa as far as Egypt; and he did not seem to like having them so close to him. His intention of making the conquest of Syria was very transparent at this time, for extraordinary warlike preparations were being made which could not be for any other purpose or intent. His son, Ibraheem

Pacha, who had not his father's diplomatic talents, revealed as much by his address to the army.

" JAMES CALVERT, Esq.,

" Malta.

" ALEXANDRIA, 1st April, 1830.

" . . . On the 24th ultimo, Ibraheem Pacha publicly harangued some of the officers of the army in a way to show that he meant to prepare the minds of the people for an eventual rupture with the Porte. After reprobating the treachery of the adherents of the late Ali Pacha of Yanina, he said:—‘What did those miscreants gain by delivering up their master and benefactor into the hands of his enemies? What have I or any of you benefited by the Sultan? He would not give us a draught of water if we should want it! Have we not all eaten the bread of Meh’med Ali? Have we not all been brought up by him as his children? Is it not by his bounty and favour that I am as I am, and each of you promoted in his respective rank and honour? Egypt is his, and he won it by the sword; we know no Sovereign but Meh’med Ali.’

“Perhaps it is not generally known that Ibraheem Pacha was of superior rank to his father, Meh’med Ali, being Pacha of the Holy Cities, which is considered the first Pachalic in the Empire; that of Damascus is second, because the Pacha is Emeer il Hadge; that of Bagdad, as the outpost on the Persian frontier, is the third; and the Pachalic of Egypt is the fourth.

“This rank was granted to Ibraheem because he had conquered the Wahabees,—a fanatical sect of Arabs,—recovered from them the Holy Cities, Mecca and Medina, and sent their chief, Abdallah Eb’n Saoud, to Constantinople, where he was beheaded on the 19th November, 1819.

“The Pacha of Damascus is the next in rank, because he is Emeer il Hadge; that is, he receives the great caravan of pilgrims which come from Constantinople and every part of Asia once a year, provides for their wants in crossing the desert, and is supposed to accompany them to Mecca, and to come back with them.

“An erroneous impression has existed that Ibraheem Pacha was not the own son of the

Viceroy, but only an adopted one, or Mameluke; but any one who has seen them must have remarked the striking resemblance to each other, particularly the remarkable fact of their both having very short arms. This impression arose from Meh'med Ali having a greater affection for another son, Toussoon, who died before him."

## CHAPTER VII.

The Red Sea Route to India.—Major Barnwell sent to England by Sir John Malcolm.—The Route first suggested on the 31st May, 1823.—Given up by the Court of Directors.—The Government Board of Control send Eleven Questions to Mr. Barker to answer.—Mr. Waghorn comes from England and gives him eight more.—Mr. T. W. Taylor sent by a Company to see if a Route were feasible.—The Government very anxious about the Route.—Arrival of the *Hugh Lindsay*, the First Steamer from India.—She went only six knots an hour.—The Viceroy sends Money but not his Fleet to Constantinople.—Great Fête at Alexandria on the Circumcision of his Children.—Prisoners released on the occasion.—Arrival of Captain Chesney.

AS soon as Mr. Barker arrived in Egypt, it was natural that one who had spent nearly all his life in energetic efforts to cause packets to be conveyed to India with as great dispatch as possible, should, in coming to Egypt, a country which had drawn a great part of the Indian trade from Aleppo, think of its future position and destiny in connexion with India.

During seven years passed in Egypt, he had many opportunities and much leisure to compare the advantages of the Red Sea route

with the one which had been so familiar to him, and weigh them in his mind; we shall find that he gave the preference to the Syrian one. Unfortunately, the project of a *railway* to Bussorah by the Euphrates was never contemplated at that time, and we cannot have his valuable opinion on the matter. The navigation of the Euphrates river was the plan proposed as an alternative to the Red Sea route, and no other.

Let us see what were his ideas, as far as they go.

As far back as May 1815 he wrote to the Ambassador, Sir Robert Liston, the advantages of availing of the westerly winds for the quick transmission of dispatches (in the Persian Gulf).

And in July 1816 he wrote to Rear-Admiral Penrose *urging* the expediency of sending vessels to avail of the winds from April to September.

In January 1822 he wrote to Colonel Taylor, at Bagdad, on the advantages of removing the Residency from Bussorah to Grain.

On the 23rd December, 1828, Major Barnwell

arrived in Egypt on his way to England, sent by the Governor of Bombay, Sir John Malcolm, on a mission with dispatches, the purport of which was the preliminary establishment of steam communication by the Red Sea. Mr. Barker writes:—

“ ALEXANDRIA, 23rd Dec., 1828.

“ Major Barnwell is this instant arrived, and will sail as soon as the wind will permit for Marseilles with the dispatches for England.

“ There is a plan set on foot by a late Governor of Bombay, and warmly seconded by the present one, for establishing two steam vessels on each side of the isthmus of Egypt, for the purpose of accelerating the transmission of dispatches to and from India; and from an official report which I have this moment perused, it is calculated that thirty-four days would be the average time occupied in a voyage by this route from London to Bombay. Three hundred miles is the distance on each side which, at only eight miles an hour, may be traversed in thirty-one days. The remaining three days are allowed for the dromedary's journey from Alexandria to Suez. The

dispatches by this route would of course be less time on the way in time of peace, when they would be conveyed across the Continent to Marseilles, or to one of the ports of Italy.

"It is thought that three or four steamers would be able to convey dispatches to and fro regularly every month, and that a great part of the expense would be defrayed by a heavy postage on private letters and the sums that passengers would be disposed to give for the advantage of a quick conveyance. The plan was suggested so long ago as the 31st May, 1823, but it seems now to have obtained the Hon. Company's approbation, and that it will soon be put into execution."

"(*Private.*)

"Captain MORESBY,

"Commanding Hon. Company's brig-of-war *Thetis*.

"ALEXANDRIA, 12th May, 1829.

"... I am glad to perceive that you are of opinion that the steamers that are destined to convey the Company's correspondence between Bombay, Cosseir, and Suez, are competent. I shall await the arrival of the first passengers by the steamer, in order to learn

from them what difficulties they met with, and their opinion of what could be done towards removing them for the benefit of future travelers."

"Major BARNWELL,  
"Bombay.

"ALEXANDRIA, 1st Sept., 1829.

" . . . Soon after your arrival in India you will have had the displeasure to learn, what was officially communicated to me on the 18th June, a week after you quitted England, that it is not the intention of the Court of Directors to adopt any measure of this description.

"That dry paragraph alludes to the hopeful plan of Sir John Malcolm and his gallant brother. It appears the Company has been appalled by the estimate of the enormous expense that would have to be incurred in the sole article of coal, and in its transport to its depôts in the Red Sea. I suppose, however, the steamer will be sent, as proposed, for one trip to Suez in the month of November next.

" His Excellency Sir PULTENEY MALCOLM,  
" Vice-Admiral, etc., etc., Malta.

" ALEXANDRIA, 24th Sept., 1829.

" SIR,—

" I had much pleasure in forwarding, on the instant of its receipt, your Excellency's letter for the Governor of Bombay, but I fear it will be very long in its passage to India, the monsoon being now over.

" This is a very good route for the transmission of dispatches to Bombay during the months of March to September, but not eligible in the remaining part of the year. I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

" etc.     etc.     etc."

The *Thetis* had brought (on board a consort) 125 tons of coal to Cosseir.

The Court of Directors, who had written to Mr. Barker when he proposed to them the steam navigation by the Red Sea, "that it was not a matter of his competence," etc., were now urged on by the Government (who had the transmission of the mails at heart), and were prevailed upon to send Mr. Barker a list of eleven questions on the subject to answer. Mr. Barker writes:—

"(*Private.*)

"His Excellency Sir ROBERT GORDON.

"Etc.      etc.      etc.

" ALEXANDRIA, 10th Dec., 1829.

" DEAR SIR,—

" Mr. Waghorn presented me with a string of eight questions, as a paper that was put into his hands, on the moment of departure, by Mr. P. Auber, Secretary to the Court of Directors, for the purpose of their being submitted to me. I enclose herewith for your Excellency's information, a copy of said paper, together with my answers thereto, annexed.

" Eleven questions on the same subject have been put to me by the Board of Control, dated 22nd October last; to which I will reply as soon as I can collect the necessary information to enable me to answer them.

" It is evident from these questions that the plan in contemplation by the Board of Control is not confined to the transmission of dispatches across the Isthmus, but to journeys of travellers; the passage money of whom, it is hoped, may go a great way towards defraying the expense of the enterprise."

“ His Excellency Sir PULTENEY MALCOLM,  
“ Admiral, etc., etc.

“ ALEXANDRIA, 8th Dec., 1829.

“ DEAR SIR,—

“ Mr. Waghorn informed me that the Court of Directors had offered £1,000 to the proprietors of the steamer *Superb*, to come to Alexandria and convey the dispatches expected by the *Enterprise* to Marseilles, but that £1,500 was demanded for that service ; whereupon the Court resolved on sending him by way of Trieste with their duplicates for India, and leave me to forward those coming from India as best I could.”

“ ALEX. TURNBULL, Esq.,  
“ Marseilles.

“ ALEXANDRIA, 15th Dec., 1829.

“ I am anxiously awaiting the receipt of dispatches from India which left Bombay on the 15th of last month, for Suez, and are therefore fully due.

“ The *Samarang* is here under waiting orders to carry the dispatches to Corfu. I think it probable that the long contemplated project of a communication by steam vessels on both

sides of the isthmus will be carried into effect in the course of next year."

A month previous to this, the Board of Directors sent a Mr. Taylor, who arrived in Egypt, and went to Cairo, to await there the arrival of the vessel from India, in order to go in her to Bombay.

On this Mr. Barker writes ;—

" ALEXANDRIA, 12th Nov., 1829.

" We cannot get away from Alexandria : we still *hope* nothing will occur to prevent our setting out for Rosetta in a few days. We have been detained these few days past by the arrival here of a Mr. Taylor, brother to Major Taylor, the East India Company's Resident at Bussorah, a person who has distinguished himself in the steam navigation line. His object in coming here is to proceed to India for the purpose of *making* some arrangement with the Governor-General of India, for carrying into effect an enterprise of a most gigantic nature. It is no less than to ply between London and Alexandria, touching at Gibraltar and Malta,

four steamers, the least of which, of 550 tons, to carry from 40 to 50 passengers. To begin to sail in August next, and afterwards to follow every fortnight, the 1st and 15th of every month.

“On the other side the Isthmus of Egypt there will be employed six steamers of the same dimensions, to ply between Calcutta and Suez, touching at Madras and Bombay, and to sail the first in August next, and so to follow that one will arrive at Suez every fortnight. Passengers to be booked through, all the way to and from India; and to be furnished with the necessary accommodations and subsistence in their journeys across the desert, between Alexandria and Suez.

“There are already prepared the necessary steamers, which are twelve in all, two being to replace such as may become disabled by accidents. The British Government in India engages to come to the aid of the Company with certain facilities for the first two years, on condition that afterwards their dispatches shall be carried free. Lord Aberdeen, it is said, patronises the enterprise, and promises that in

time of plague the Board of Trade shall recognise certificates of officers, to be expressly appointed, that the “caravan” of travellers has had *no* communication with infected places, in order to exempt ships and passengers from quarantine regulations.

“The distance from London to Gibraltar is nearly 1,000 miles; from Gibraltar to Malta, 1,100 miles; from Malta to Alexandria, 800 miles; from Suez to Mocha, 1,200 miles; from Mocha to the island of Scotra, 650 miles; from Scotra to Bombay, 1,350 miles: in all, from London to Alexandria, 2,900; and from Suez to Bombay, 3,200 miles. The mean rate of going is reckoned at 230 miles in every twenty-four hours, so that the voyage from Malta to Alexandria will be performed in three days and a half.

“A Mr. Thomas Waghorn, of the East India Company’s Pilot Service, arrived at Alexandria soon after Mr. Taylor, and went to Suez; but not finding the *Enterprise* there (she had been found unseaworthy), took sail in a boat of the country for Jeddah, where he was taken up by the *Thetis* brig-of-war, which had brought

twelve tents for the passengers who were expected to arrive from India by the *Enterprise.*"

The East India Company's brig-of-war *Palinurus* also arrived at Cossier for the purpose of taking soundings, in December 1829.

On the 24th December he writes to his brother-in-law to this effect:—

"I make no doubt the Government will compel the Directors of the East India Company to carry the steam navigation plan into effect. Government has expressed great anxiety on the subject of those questions, and took extraordinary precautions that no delay should take place in my receipt of them.

"An East India Company's man-of-war arrived at Suez on the 18th inst., in 100 days from Bombay, and brought twelve tents for the use of the passengers expected by the *Enterprise.* It was sent to take soundings and make a chart of the Red Sea.

“ J. W. TAYLOR, Esq.,  
“ Cairo.

“ ALEXANDRIA, 28th Nov., 1829.

“ DEAR SIR,—

“ Mr. Waghorn arrived this afternoon, and will set out to-morrow evening for Cairo, on his way to Suez, there to embark, by order of the East India Company, on board the *Enterprise*.

“ He has brought me a letter from the Secretary, Mr. Auber, dated the 28th October, recommending him to my attention in furthering his object of proceeding to his destination. Mr. Waghorn is charged with public dispatches for the Presidencies in India. He has talked to me, not at all in confidence, of a plan of establishing a steam vessel to ply between England and India for the sole purpose of carrying letters, bullion, newspapers, periodical publications, etc.; and the Company has promised to give him, or rather lend him, two engines of 50-horse power, as an encouragement to engage him to persevere in the undertaking. The Indian Government has sanctioned his tariff or tax on letters and packages from India; and he has been promised, as he assures me, that an

Act of Parliament will settle the same rates on letters to India.

"He has also been charged by the Company to give them information of the means of transporting their correspondence by steam navigation by this route. I said above that Mr. W.'s conversation with me was not confidential; yet I beg you will not let him understand that I have addressed you on the subject.

"Believe me to be, truly, etc.,

"JOHN BARKER."

Mr. Waghorn met Mr. Taylor at Suez. Mr. Taylor had been sent by the Court of Directors, but he had also in view the speculation of a steam company on his own account; but when he found the Red Sea route taken by the Government of India, he transferred his plans to the river Tigris, where a steam company was started.

Mr. Waghorn was also sent on the part of Directors, but with very little encouragement, for the Company had no wish for the success of the scheme. He got more from the Government. Mr. Waghorn made several voyages

between England and Egypt before the so-called Overland Route<sup>1</sup> was finally adopted.

More than once after dinner Mr. Barker used to say to him, "Waghorn, don't be too sure of success. I wrote about this long ago, but the Court of Directors *won't have it.*"

Sir Charles Malcolm, Superintendent of Marine at Bombay, had announced to Mr. Barker the intended departure of a superb steamer, the *Hugh Lindsay*, for Suez, to arrive towards the end of February 1830. She *did* arrive, on the 22nd April, 1830, and went back immediately.

"You will see from the enclosed the *Hugh Lindsay* arrived at last, in thirty-three days from Bombay to Suez, having lost twelve days in taking in coal.

"From the log-book it appears that she did not go on an average more than six knots an hour, so that I think, under favourable circumstances, dispatches ought to be transmitted between India and Arabia—that is, to Cosseir and to Suez—in a fortnight. By the voyage ending

<sup>1</sup> This is the most inappropriate of names. There are 5,247 miles to traverse in going to India by the Red Sea route, of which only one-third is over the Continent and the Isthmus (1493).

at Cosseir, the former place, there would be a saving of five days' consumption of coal, going and coming,—which is a great object; and I should receive the dispatches with more regularity,—though, perhaps, when the Nile is low, one or two days later. The Board of Control have sent me a string of questions which show that they are balancing the advantages and disadvantages of the two routes, namely, that of Bussorah and Aleppo, and this channel for the transmission of their correspondence by steamers, in the supposition that the Euphrates might be navigable to steam vessels,—a point which, I apprehend, there is no man living can decide, and which can be ascertained only by actual survey.”

Let us now return to the Viceroy's affairs.

“JOHN CARTRIGHT, Esq.,  
“Consul-General, etc., Constantinople.

“ALEXANDRIA, 14th Nov., 1829.

“. . . The Sultan has demanded his own fleet,<sup>1</sup> that of Meh'med Ali, and money. He has

<sup>1</sup> The Sultan's fleet of vessels after the battle of Navarino was so much knocked about that they were obliged to come to Egypt to refit.

sent him the first and the last, but he would as soon have given his head as his darling ships. The vessels belonging to the Sultan consist of eighteen sail, of which a line-of-battle ship and a frigate are not expected to reach the capital. There are, however, five frigates and ten corvettes, or brigs, serviceable.

“The amount of money sent by this fleet, which is on the point of putting to sea, is variously reported, but may be from 500,000 to 600,000 dollars. If the Viceroy had not suffered so severely by the devastation made by the excessive overflow of the Nile, he would have lent a much more considerable aid to the Sultan in his present distress. I agree with you entirely that it is not to the interest of either to come to an open rupture at this moment. Meh’met Ali will avoid it as long as possible, and will make great sacrifices to continue on his present footing with his Sovereign,—which, however, is *de facto* a state of independence.”

“ALEXANDRIA, 7th Dec., 1829.

“We have lately had a grand spectacle of illuminations and fireworks for many days, of

which the newspapers will give you flaming accounts. The *fête* was on the occasion of two of Meh'med Ali's and one of Ibraheem Pacha's sons, of seven or eight years, being circumcised. The best part of the pageant was the release of all the prisoners in Alexandria and at Aboukir, where there were some State prisoners. The galley slaves were included in this splendid act of clemency. It is said that it was extended to the prisoners in Cairo; which would be magnificent indeed, as there must be an immense number who languish there in prison for debts to the Government to the amount of many millions of dollars."

"The Rev. JOSEPH WOLFF,  
"Cyprus.

"ALEXANDRIA, 29th Dec., 1829.

"I was made happy by the receipt of yours of the 3rd inst., giving me the agreeable news of Lady Georgiana's perfect recovery from the Cyprus fever, which had, a fortnight before, caused you so much alarm and uneasiness. As to engaging Sir Thomas Staines, or any other commander of a British ship of war, to touch at Cyprus on his way to Malta, there is not the

least chance of it, for Cyprus is quite out of the track of ships coming from Smyrna or Greece.

“The house of Tod is now nearly empty,—has only Bialoblotsky and the young Tod,—where you would be comfortably lodged for a short time.

“I sent Bialoblotsky your letter, and shall give him your compliments when I see him. My family are sensible of your politeness in sending them your kind remembrances, and make you and Lady G. a warm return of good wishes and respects. With many happy returns of the season,

“I remain, etc.,

“JOHN BARKER.”

“Mr. THOMAS WAGHORN,

“Bombay.

“ALEXANDRIA, 15th Feb., 1830.

“. . . My answers to the Board of Control were satisfactory as to the means of transport across the Isthmus of the dispatches in three days, and the secure journeys of travellers in ten (going all the way by land), for the three months when the Nile overflows its banks, and in nine days for the remainder of the year, with-

out risk of the loss of the packets, or any danger and extraordinary fatigue to the passengers; among whom the women, children, and invalids might be conveyed in Turkish or Sicilian litters, carried by mules, at the same time that their more robust companions would ride donkeys, mules, or camels, at their pleasure.

“I am, dear Sir, etc.,

“JOHN BARKER.”

“ALEXANDRIA, 29th May, 1880.

“. . . I have just seen Captain Chesney, who brought me a letter from Mr. Dawkins. He is a very intelligent, gentlemanly man, and pleased me much.”

## CHAPTER VIII.

Meh'med Ali fears he will be attacked. Dr. Wolff's Placards.—Mr. Barker's Conduct approved by his Government. The Viceroy's Observation on the French Fleet. Mission of Monsieur le Baron de Taylor.—Pertev Effendee sent from Constantinople. Takes back 550,000 Dollars.—Candia conferred on the Viceroy.—The African Association send Mr. Welford.—Sir John Malcolm is magnificently entertained at Cairo.—The French subscribe for the Widows of the Martyrs of Liberty at Paris.—Manœuvres of the Viceroy.—His Activity and Resources.

“JOHN CARTWRIGHT, Esq.,  
“ Consul-General, Constantinople,  
“ etc. etc. etc.

“ ALEXANDRIA, 1st June, 1830.

“ MEH'MET ALI has declared in his Divan [council] that he was in expectation of being immediately attacked by a squadron of the Grand Seignor's fleet, who, he says, demands of him the three maritime towns of Egypt, and professed himself, of course, ready to defend them; but as it is well known that there was no armament preparing at Constantinople, His Highness was either deceived by a false report, or it was a manœuvre to see what effect such an

event, if real, would produce on the minds of the people, his courtiers and officers.

He had just received (a few days before) from the Porte, as also his son Ibraheem, firmans of recognition.<sup>1</sup>

“ 18th May, 1830.

“ . . . The most active preparations for war continue to be made here; but the two Pachas, father and son, received last week their confirmations from the Porte, which are sent annually to all Pachas, at the Kourban-Bairam, when they are not dismissed.”

“ The Rev. JOSEPH WOLFF,

“ Alexandria.

“ ALEXANDRIA, 18th May, 1830.

“ I have just received from Mr. Boghoz, by my interpreter, an official message from His Highness the Viceroy, which I am requested to communicate to you in a friendly way.

“ His Highness has been informed of the substance of the placards which you caused to be stuck in the streets here, and of the letters

<sup>1</sup> This gives a good insight into Turkish Pacha life, and the dissimulation which is the rule.

which you addressed to the Governor and Sub-Governor of Alexandria. His Highness thinks you are, consequently on these writings, exposed to be insulted and maltreated by the populace; against which, of course, no precautionary measures can be taken, nor any redress be obtained in case of injury to your person. His Highness being therefore anxious to prevent the unpleasant consequences to himself, to me, and to you, of such an accident, would be glad to hear of your having quitted the country at your earliest convenience.”

These placards were exhortations to abandon Islamism, because Mohammed was a false prophet, and calling upon the people to embrace Christianity.

“**Capt. CHESNEY.**

“**ALEXANDRIA, 5th June, 1880.**

“**MY DEAR SIR,—**

“Here are four letters for my friends in Syria. Mr. Consul Abbott will be able to supply you better in that way. I hope this will find you and your companion well; I beg my com-

pliments to him, and wishing you a pleasant journey, I remain,

“ Truly yours,

“ J. BARKER.”

“ J. WARMINGTON, Esq.,

“ Smyrna.

“ ALEXANDRIA, 21st June, 1830.

“ . . . Lord Aberdeen’s words were, ‘I have great satisfaction in conveying to you the approbation of His Majesty’s Government of the manner in which you executed the commission with which you were intrusted. You likewise acted perfectly right in not communicating with any other of His Majesty’s servants upon the subject of political instructions, upon which you were not specially directed to make any such communications.’”

“ Sir PULTENEY MALCOLM,

“ Admiral, etc., etc.

“ ALEXANDRIA, 3rd July, 1830.

“ . . . The Pacha told me a few days ago that there was a depth in the entrance to the port of full twenty-seven feet, and that the largest man-of-war did not draw more than twenty-five, and that therefore, by the help of

a steamer, he could not meet with any difficulty, in fine weather, of getting his three-deckers in and out of the port of Alexandria.

"On this occasion His Highness observed, with his characteristic acuteness, 'I never take anything for granted. I am never satisfied that a thing cannot be until I have tried it by actual experiment. You see the French Admiral Breun could have brought all his ships, even *l'Orient*, into this port. But he was told there was not water enough in the entrance passage for a line-of-battle ship; he took that for granted, and went and anchored in Aboukir Bay, and the fleet was destroyed.' Your Excellency may be assured, although I do not mean to rest this assurance on this remark, that Meh'med Ali is a man of transcendent abilities. It was in my confidential conferences that I formed my opinion of his superior talents."

"ALEXANDRIA, 23rd June, 1830.

" . . . You will have heard ere this reaches you, in regard to the obelisks of Luxor, of the arrival here, with many valuable presents for the Pacha, of Monsieur le Baron de Taylor,

de la Maison du Roi, for the express purpose of demanding them in the name of the city of Paris, and that he obtained permission to carry them off if he could. The Pacha in acquainting me with his having given those obelisks to the French, said politely, ‘But I have reserved that of Karnac for the English, and it is the best.’

“ Monsieur le Baron was nearly two months before he could obtain an audience of the Viceroy, but at length succeeded in that and in the object of his mission. He is at liberty to carry off the two obelisks above-mentioned; and upwards of a month ago, *l'Dromedaire*, a store ship of 1,000 tons burthen, arrived here to carry off the obelisk at Alexandria, but no works have begun for making the necessary mole for its embarkation.

“ On the 26th ultimo, Pertev Effendee, late Minister for Foreign Affairs, arrived here in a Turkish corvette, and was received by the Viceroy with every mark of distinction due to his rank and character.

“ The object of his mission was to give the Viceroy the solemn assurances of the Sultan’s

goodwill towards him ; another, no doubt, is to get a round sum out of him as tribute ; and, lastly, a good ‘backsheesh’ for himself, ‘a distinguished person who has discharged important functions, and who, though no longer in office, enjoys great consideration at the Porte for his splendid talents.’ Mr. Boghoz, in speaking of him, said to me, ‘*Il est considéré comme une des meilleures têtes à Constantinople.*’”

“4th Sept., 1830.

“. . . The late Minister for Foreign Affairs sailed for Constantinople yesterday. He carries with him, it is said, 50,000 dollars as a ‘backsheesh’ for himself, and 500,000 dollars as an acknowledgment for the government of Candia, which has been conferred on the Viceroy by the Sultan. Meh’med Ali is preparing to send thither immediately 5,000 disciplined troops, to be followed by 5,000 more. I make no doubt he will engage the Greeks to lay down their arms, without bloodshed, and afterwards give them no cause to regret having taken that step. Meh’med Ali has laid down another 110-gun ship, and has named her, with

the usual ceremony of the sacrifice of a buffalo,  
*The City of Alexandria.*"

" Lord PRUDHOE,

" etc. etc.

" ALEXANDRIA, 7th Sep., 1830.

". . . Our Pacha is very much pleased with his new government of Candia, and talks, in his way, of great progress : of improving Paros, building arsenals, planting forests which are to supply him with timber for building ships, and with wood as an article of commerce, of which Egypt is so much in need. He expatiates also on his plan of forming a kind of Synod, in which he will admit elders of the Greek communities ; and, 'We shall see,' he said, 'if the Greeks will not be happier under my rule than they are under their own new government. I think the event will prove the question to be in his favour.'

" 6th August, 1830.

" Our Viceroy is very uneasy at the apprehension of the French 'taking root in Algiers,' as in such a case he thinks it inevitable they would ultimately, and at no distant

period, throw out branches which would reach him."

"(Private.)

"His Excellency the Rt. Hon.

"Sir ROBERT LISTON, G.C.B.,

"etc. etc. etc.

"ALEXANDRIA, 7th August, 1830.

"SIR,—

"In obedience to your Excellency's private commands, I had the honour to transmit to you, by my private letter of the 5th June last, copy of my answer to the Earl of Aberdeen's important dispatch of the 29th January. I have since addressed his lordship on subjects connected with that dispatch; but having received on the 21st June, his lordship's express inhibition, under date of the 26th April, 'to communicate with any other of His Majesty's servants upon the subject of a political instruction upon which I was not specially directed to make any such communication, I take this opportunity of recalling that circumstance to your Excellency's recollection, in order that my discontinuing to correspond with your Excellency on the instruction referred to may not by any possibility be im-

puted to any diminution of the profound respect  
with which I am, Sir, your Excellency's

“ Most faithful humble Servant,

“ JOHN BARKER.”

The African Association sent a gentleman of the name of Welford to explore Africa. Mr. Barker gave him all the advice and assistance he could, and recommended him to Messrs. Wilkinson, Burton, Linant, Hay, and other Egyptian explorers. But he was completely unfitted by ill health and inaptitude for the hard work he was required to go through, and he did not long survive it. Most of the persons who come out to the East little know what hardships they are about to encounter. We remember a young man who came out as clerk in the Land Transport Corps, who was quite unfit to rough it; on being asked what were his ideas about roughing it, which he professed to be able to do, he replied, “ Why, I should think I shall always be able to get a beef-steak and a bottle of porter.”

In speaking of Turkish officials, Mr. Barker says :—

“For my part I never trust to the effect of ‘superior orders’ with Turkish Agas, but have always found that a watch, spying-glass, or a pair of pistols, properly administered, removed every species of ill-will, and all difficulties. Nothing is so easy to effect as to gain the friendship of a Turk in office. It is like the art of pleasing, which Lord Chesterfield says is so easy that to acquire it you have only to desire to please. Give a Turk a trifling present, and whatever power he has, is yours. With this knowledge, a man may travel in every part of Turkey to his entire satisfaction, and without it, or actuated by an ill-judged economy, and relying on the effect of firmans, he will be continually getting into trouble.

“Sir John Malcolm arrived in Cairo, on his way to England, on the 12th January, 1830. The Viceroy received him there with the greatest honours, and treated him magnificently, as no other European had ever been treated.

“On hearing of the French Revolution of July 1830, the young Frenchmen at Cairo tore down the *fleur de lis* flag, without the

consent of the person acting there as French Consular Agent. Here, although the French are equally patriotic, they have not committed such outrages; on the contrary, they have shown their zeal by making a subscription among themselves for the widows of the martyrs of liberty who fell at Paris, the end of July last. Which subscription, it is said, amounts to nearly 2,000 Spanish dollars,—which is a very large sum for twenty individuals to subscribe on such an occasion, with, in general, limited incomes."

"The Right Hon. Lord PRUDHOE,  
"etc. etc. etc.

" ALEXANDRIA, 1st July, 1830.

" . . . The old Pacha [he was then about sixty-two] who is here is at this moment, as you may imagine, in the greatest anxiety to learn the result of the expedition against Algiers. He is Turk enough to feel that the humiliation of the Dey would be a blow inflicted on the Mohammedan cause. He expects, at least, that the Dey will make a glorious resistance, and yesterday told me that he did not think the French will be able to get possession of Algiers in less than a twelvemonth's siege !

"He lately played off a theatrical manœuvre which for a few days made a great sensation here, but its real object was soon discovered. In his Divan he pretended that he had received secret advices that the Sultan had determined to attack him. 'He threatens,' said he, 'to burn down my palace: but we shall see; God is great!' and he immediately, as if he had expected every moment the arrival of the enemy, set a thousand men to work night and day to throw up earthworks on the mole before his palace.

"Ibraheem Pacha was also instantly sent off to review the troops and make fortifications along the coast, and Chiandi, an engineer, ordered to build a line of telegraphs from Alexandria to Damietta. All his ships were cruising in the offing (which they had been doing for several months before), and the people of Alexandria were expecting every moment to hear the commencement of the fight between them and the Capitan Pacha. In a few days, however, all alarm subsided, it having been ascertained in eight days by a ship from the capital that no armaments were in prepara-

tion, and that the whole was got up for the purpose of letting the Sultan know that if he intended to attack him he was prepared for his defence, and also to see what effect a real rupture would produce on the minds of his officers and dependents."

Mr. Barker gives an extraordinary account of the Viceroy's activity of mind and body.

" Lord PRUDHOE,

" etc. etc.

" ALEXANDRIA, 10th Feb., 1831.

" On the 3rd January the launch of the first of the Pacha's great ships took place, in his absence at Cairo. The joyful tidings of its perfect success was communicated to him by telegraph. For a fortnight previously, his principal officers and dependents among the Franks gave *fêtes* on the approaching occasion; and rejoicings of the same nature continued for a week afterwards.

" The ship is bored for 110 guns, and is called the *Meh'med Ali*. It was coppered, but had not its upper deck in; and in all probability will not be ready to put to sea for two years more. He has nearly in the same state of

readiness two ships of the same class, called the *Ibraheem* and the *Alexandria*, and one of 80 guns; and is on the point of laying down the keel of another of 136 guns, which is to be the largest ship in the world,—that is, a foot or two longer and broader than the one now building at Constantinople.

“The arsenal and dockyard, which were begun when you left Egypt, are now in great forwardness; besides which an aqueduct, bringing the water from the Mahmoudieh canal to the arsenal, is now completed; and granaries and seed establishments on a large scale for European manufactories are everywhere springing up.

“But in the prosecution of all Meh’med Ali’s undertakings, there is no suspense in consequence of a failure in the funds necessary for their completion.

“When I arrived here in 1826, every one was eager to declare his conviction that the Viceroy could not go on six months longer, that he was driving the way to ruin, that he had madly conceived projects that were out of all proportion to his means, and that conse-

quently he would, for want of money, be obliged to abandon them; yet, so far from such having been the result, his projects, which were judged impracticable in 1826 on account of their magnitude, were not one-fifth so considerable as those which we have seen carried into effect, nor one-tenth so gigantic as the enterprises which he has now in contemplation. Since, therefore, we have witnessed the completion of some, and the considerable progress of projects so much more vast than those which appeared to the public for four years the dreams of a madman, it is fair to infer that we are unacquainted with the extent of the pecuniary resources of Meh'med Ali, and that they are in reality adequate to the execution of his designs.

“On the day following the launch of the *Meh'med Ali*, a beautiful 26-gun corvette was launched with equal success. It is destined to be sent as a present to the Sultan.”

“16th March, 1831.

“The 136-gun ship, which I mentioned in

my last, has actually been laid on the slip. It measures 200 feet in the keel, and is nearly sixty feet broad on the upper deck. Your lordship knows that such a vessel cannot get out of this harbour when it has its guns on board,—and consequently this port would be no refuge for it in case of its being pursued by a superior force. The Viceroy's crops of cotton this year have exceeded all former years, having produced upwards of 150,000 bales; and his plantations of poppies for making opium in Upper Egypt are at this moment in a most flourishing state, and are conducted on a very extensive scale. It is the white poppy that is cultivated, and last year the quality of a small quantity of opium which was produced proved to be superior. His plantations of mulberry trees are also prospering, and in a few years hence Egypt will produce a large quantity of silk. The sugar and rum manufactories continue to be carried on by Italians. A tannery at Rosetta is in full operation, and supplies sufficient leather for all his forces, which, without his sailors (5,000 or 6,000), extraordinary as it

must appear, equal the number last voted for the British Army. In short, if he has not got possession of Aladdin's lamp there is no accounting for his pecuniary resources.

## CHAPTER IX.

Obelisk of Luxor.—Mr. Barker's Experience on Ophthalmia.—Cholera at Cairo in 1831.—Mr. Barker's Advice.—The Cholera comes to Alexandria.—Bleeding a Panacea in the First Stage.—Mr. Maze throws himself from the Pyramid.—Plague near Beyrouth.—Extraordinary Circumstances attending its Development.—Mr. Barker chosen President of the Sanitary Committee.—Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Clay arrive in Egypt.—Presentation of Sir Pulteney Malcolm to the Viceroy.—Another Gentleman presented.—Meh'med Ali refuses to see any more Englishmen.

THE removal to France of the celebrated obelisk of Luxor, in a ship built on purpose in France to receive it, is worthy of notice in these pages.

The *Luxor*, under Lieutenant de Vaisseau Ferninac, sailed from Toulon on the 15th April, 1830, and arrived at Alexandria on the 13th May. About a month was spent at Alexandria in unloading and lightening the ship, so that she might float in eight feet of water, which was the depth of the bar at Rosetta. Thus eased, she was just able to get over the bar, though in doing so she grounded, and arrived the same day at Rosetta.

It was necessary that they should get to Upper Egypt as soon as possible, in order to cut a canal, where the ship might be placed at an angle of about  $40^{\circ}$ , resting on her stern, before the rise of the Nile should cover the ground. As the water was already coming up, Monsieur Lebas, engineer, commenced at once cutting the canal, which he accomplished in eight days by the aid of 200 Arabs and 600 children,<sup>1</sup> where the ship might lie as in a dock; the canal was forty metres long by twelve in breadth.

The *Luxor* left Rosetta on the 12th July, and reached Luxor on the 13th August, and on the 14th it was safe in the canal which had been prepared for it. The Nile kept on rising till the 15th September; from the 15th till the 25th it remained stationary, but on the 25th the river began to abate, and by the 15th November the ship was high and dry.

The obelisk was taken down on the 1st

<sup>1</sup> The earth is carried away in small baskets, made of the leaves of the date tree, which can contain only three or four pounds, so that children are employed to fill these baskets and carry them to the place where the earth is to be thrown away.

October ; its transit to the vessel occupied the time from that date to the 15th November, when it reached the ship, the forepart of which had been opened for the purpose of receiving it. The greased beams of wood on which the obelisk was laid were placed on the same level as that part of the ship which was prepared to receive it ; and the whole operation of passing the obelisk through into the ship did not occupy more than two hours. The forepart was then built up again, and by the 15th March, 1831, the ship was ready to sail, as soon as the rise of the Nile should float it. In the last days of June the water began to rise, and the ship was afloat on the 18th August ; by the 25th all stores had been got on board, and she began to float down the stream. Rosetta was reached on the 1st October, where the *Luxor* was immediately unloaded ; which operation enabled her, although weighed down by the enormous weight of the stone, to float in nine feet of water ; but as unfortunately the depth of the bar fell short of that by a foot, the vessel could not get over. The pilots declared that a deeper and wider passage would be

opened probably in October,—which in fact occurred ; but it proved to fall short of the requisite depth by six inches, and therefore the *Luxor* was detained in Egypt till the following year, 2nd January, 1833.

Egypt has the reputation of being a very bad country for ophthalmia, from the number of blind and one-eyed people one meets everywhere. But in almost all parts of Syria ophthalmia is just as prevalent as in Egypt during the months of September and October, disappearing entirely on the approach of winter. Mr. Barker's great experience on this important subject is worth something, and we trust our readers will not think it valueless. The French Government had sent an oculist of celebrity, Le Docteur Pariset, to Egypt to study this disorder, and Mr. Barker wrote the following letter to him :—

(Translation from the French.)

“ Doctor PARISET.

“ ALEXANDRIA, 10th Sept., 1829.

SIR,—

“ My long residence at Aleppo having given me an opportunity of observing the nature

and treatment of ophthalmia in Syria, I venture to hope it will be agreeable to you that I should communicate the result of my observations on this disorder.

“ 1. It is a complaint which affects the whole system, taking away the patient’s appetite, and causing a loathing for meat. Although the most characteristic symptom is a violent inflammation of the eyes, this is in reality only one of the means which Nature uses to bring about a cure ; all, therefore, which is done to stop, or even to diminish, the inflammation is hurtful.

“ 2. Although the patient is frequently relieved by natural evacuation towards the middle or end of the complaint, still purgatives are not necessary in any stage of it.

“ 3. When positively nothing is done except washing the eyes two or three times a day with pure tepid water, the ophthalmia has never any troublesome consequences, nor does it leave the least permanent weakness.

“ 4. In the case in which no remedy, external or internal, is used, the ordinary course is from ten to fourteen days.

“5. On the 4th or 5th day the inflammation causes great pain for twenty-four hours, and the patient is sometimes blinded by the thick pus for twenty-four hours following.

“6. The ophthalmia is a contagious endemic, and often epidemic. It was epidemic at Aleppo and Antioch immediately after the earthquake which happened on the 13th August, 1822. The epidemic was so universal at these two towns that at least a quarter of the population was attacked. I was then at Antioch, and five out of the nine who composed my family were attacked by it; but the fact which is most noteworthy is that in this same autumn several hundred persons became blind at Aleppo, where doctors and oculists abound, while at Antioch, a town of about 20,000 inhabitants, where the epidemic was raging with equal violence to that at Aleppo, but where no remedy was used, not one person lost his sight through ophthalmia.

“I guarantee the truth of this important fact, and I rely with confidence on your experience and knowledge, in the hope that what I say may contribute to the relief of humanity,—a great

work which has already so happily advanced in your hands.

“I have the honour to be, with the most distinguished consideration, Sir,

“Your very obedient servant,

“JOHN BARKER.”

In July and August, 1831, the cholera appeared in Egypt, and carried off from three to four per cent. of the population, whereas at Aleppo the mortality was never more than one per cent. The Viceroy lost about 3,000 of his soldiers, and 800 or 900 of his sailors. Mr. Barker writes on this subject to his brother Edward, then Vice-Consul at Cairo, who had gone with his family to Rosetta, flying from the pestilence, which he escaped by remaining in his “kangia,” or boat, on the Nile.

“ALEXANDRIA, 20th July, 1831.

“You need be in no apprehension of the Mecca pilgrims bringing you the cholera morbus to Cairo. It never travels so fast. It proceeds stage by stage, stopping always from thirty-five to forty days in each town, and never longer. It was five years in travelling from Bussorah to

Damascus, through Mesopotamia to Aleppo, Antioch, Latakia, and Damascus; whereas a caravan would have performed the journey in five months.

“Sanitary cordons have proved ineffectual in stopping its progress.”

“*6th August, 1831.*

“Wait at Rosetta till it finishes in Cairo, which you may rest assured it will do in one month after the first case, and almost cease twenty days after that time. For the first ten days it comes on slowly; the second ten days it rages, three of which are terrible, and then it gradually declines.

“This it did in all the towns through which it passed from Bagdad to Damascus in 1821 and the following year. Europeans in Alexandria and Cairo live in continual contact with a disorder the most contagious that can be—the ‘itch,’ and yet they never catch it, because their modes of living exempt them from it. Doctor Christie, who believes it can only be taken by contact, says they will be equally exempted from the cholera.

"I observe it has declined. It must cease altogether before the end of a month; but be assured that no measures Ibraheem Pacha can take will prevent it breaking out at the same time in Cairo as in Alexandria. Recollect, however, that it did not carry off in the towns in Syria above one per cent. of the population, which is its usual mortality everywhere, and always among the labouring poor."

"11th September, 1831.

"The *Telegraph* marked this morning the mortality at Cairo yesterday at 49. Here the official returns for the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th were 44, 56, 38, and 40. I am now convinced that the cholera *may* be taken by contact. I am also persuaded that blood-letting is a panacea for the disorder. The best advice I ever gave you is to pay particular attention to the state of your bowels, and if attacked, bleed immediately. I have no doubt my daughter Mrs. Peach's life was saved by that operation. She was attacked, as well as a servant in my house, although no one was more scrupulous in quarantine regulations and practice than myself."

At this time a very extraordinary event occurred. A young gentleman, son of a merchant at Bristol, named Maze, threw himself off the Great Pyramid, and was killed. Mr. Barker says :—

“ ALEXANDRIA, 11th April, 1831.

“ I enclose a letter which I have just received, giving me the account of the melancholy end of Mr. Maze, son of a Bristol merchant well known at Smyrna. I suspect suicide, for there is no instance of the kind in the traditions of Egypt that a person has ever fallen off the Pyramids. I was much pleased with the manners of Clay and Disraeli. They are gone up the country, and purpose on their return to pass the winter in Cairo.”

There is not the least doubt this was a case of suicide through insanity. The young man had evidently come all the way from England in the intent of immortalising his name by this act. His portmanteau contained nothing but a change of linen and a watch worth thirty shillings. The Arabs, who always take, or rather almost carry travellers up to the top of the Pyra-

mids, also declared they did what they could to prevent his throwing himself down; and many persons recollect that his conversation during the time he was at Cairo and at Alexandria was always about the Pyramids.

A few months before this, early in the spring of 1831, the plague broke out suddenly at Miri, near Beyrouth, in a monastery of monks of the Terra Santa, and in a few days carried off six priests, the whole fraternity, and also the interpreter. Fortunately, the "march of intellect" had begun to dawn in Syria, and Abdallah Pacha of Acre had a *cordon sanitaire* of soldiers posted all round the monastery, and by this means prevented the disease spreading,—proving the absolute certainty of its being *contagious*, and at the same time a remarkable circumstance in the annals of Turkey that a Pacha, and a very fanatical one, should have adopted quarantine precautions.

This disease originated in the following manner.

The Superior of the monastery, an Italian, had lately arrived from Europe, and in his zeal for the well-being of his charge, in a tour of inspec-

tion, observed a trunk covered with the dust of some years, and learnt on enquiry that “it contained the clothes of a brother who had died of the plague eighteen years before ; that the trunk ought to have been sent to his relations, but had been forgotten.” In spite of the entreaties of two of the elder monks, who had seen and known the effects of the scourge, who foretold the danger and the subsequent event, he insisted on having the trunk opened and the clothes “purified;” and the result was that, like Pandora’s box, the deadly pestilence flew out and destroyed them all !

Had no precautions been taken by the Pacha, the whole of the Lebanon, and perhaps all Syria, would have been desolated.

In regard to the revival of the trade in Syria, which was attempted by the British Government in the appointment of Mr. Farren to be Consul-General at Damascus, Mr. Barker says :

“ PETER ABBOTT, Esq.,  
“ etc. etc. etc.

“ ALEXANDRIA, 7th July, 1831.

“ I think it very probable Mr. Farren’s

appointment has been done away with. When Lord Aberdeen informed me of it officially, I told him frankly my opinion of its being a perfect delusion ; that the trade of Syria, not only for the English, but likewise for the French, had died a natural death, and that a Consul-General could not resuscitate it."

" EDWARD BARKER, Esq.,

" Vice-Consul, Cairo.

" ALEXANDRIA, 5th August, 1831.

" The Pacha was, till to-day, in the most fatal delusion as to the danger, and even denied that the disorder which carried off so many of his soldiers was the cholera morbus ; but now a great reaction has taken place, and he has applied to the Consuls to choose five among them as a committee for adopting measures calculated to prevent the contagion spreading. I have reluctantly accepted the presidency of this committee, but the measures in contemplation will, I am sure, prove ineffectual.

" We have learned the horrible catastrophe of the fire at Pera, and of the cholera and the plague being both at Constantinople. All ships

coming from thence will be put into quarantine here.

“Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Clay sailed this morning for Malta; the latter delivered to me the magazines you gave him.”

One of Mr. Barker’s duties was the presenting to the Viceroy persons of distinction, and gentlemen who had come with letters of recommendation, frequently from the Foreign Office, and from the Ambassador. It happened on one of these occasions that he had to present Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm. The dragoman had been to the Palace and learnt the hour, and they set off on horseback to Rasit Teen, the New Palace. His Highness was all smiles, and very gracious, more particularly as he had a foible for the Navy, and wished to speak to the Admiral about his own; when upon an observation he made Sir Pulteney burst out laughing in so boisterous a manner that the Viceroy stared, and looked as if he did not know what to make of it. Was it a mystification?—such a loud laugh he had never heard in his life. Another and another followed, and then he perceived

that this was a habit the Admiral had ; still, so extraordinary a breach of decorum in Turkish etiquette amazed him. He looked much displeased and put out, and the audience did not end as it had begun.

A few days after this, Mr. Barker had to present a gentleman of some note, well recommended in high quarters, but who knew still less of Oriental etiquette than Sir Pulteney. He came to the audience dressed in a white jacket and a red cap, or "fez." As he had met Mr. Barker by appointment at the Palace, and the Viceroy was waiting, there was nothing to be done but to go in. Seated before His Highness, he took off this cap, and a shaved head, perfectly bald, presented itself to the astonished eyes of the Viceroy. Mr. Barker, shocked and confused, begged him earnestly to put on his cap, but all to no purpose ; this gentleman thought he knew better, and remained uncovered.<sup>1</sup> As soon as Mr. Barker had returned

<sup>1</sup> The Orientals cover their heads and hands before a superior in rank, but uncover their feet. To appear before a person of so high a rank as the Viceroy with a bald head was the height of ill-breeding in Oriental ideas, and even an insult.

home, the Viceroy's dragoman came from the part of His Highness to say that he would not see any more Englishmen, and requested the Consul-General would not ask him for any audiences for them.

## CHAPTER X.

Expedition against Acre.—Old Romei.—Affair of the Supercargo and Master of the *Symmetry*.—Taking of Acre.—Battles of Homs and Bailan.—Defeat of Rescheed Pacha at Koniah.—The Russian General Mouravieff.—Meh'med Ali's Friendship for Mr. Barker.—Mission of Haleel Pacha.—Turkish Receptions.—Vision of the French Envoy Monsieur Olivier.—Arrival of Russian Troops at Constantinople.—Firman of the 6th May, 1833.—Mr. Barker superseded by Lieut.-Colonel Campbell as Consul-General.—Ibraheem Pacha writes to Mr. Barker from his Garden at Soudeeyah.

THE expedition to take possession of Syria was secretly but energetically carried on. Candia in the hands of the Viceroy of Egypt enjoyed a respite from oppression, and the Greeks were well satisfied at the change from the Sultan's domination. Syria was about to feel the same rule, but being in very different circumstances, much suffering to the inhabitants was unavoidable until Meh'med Ali could get quiet possession.

Mr. Barker writes :—

“ PETER ABBOTT, Esq.,

“ Beyrout.

“ ALEXANDRIA, 2nd June, 1831.

“ There is now no manner of doubt that the formidable expeditions in Alexandria and Cairo are destined to besiege Acre.”

On the 1st November the preparations for war were so apparent that concealment of their destination was no longer possible. The courtiers about the Viceroy began to talk of Meh'med Ali's taking Syria without the Porte's consent, and Ibraheem Pacha had caused public rejoicings to be made at Cairo on the pretended receipt of the firman from the Porte which gave the Pachalic of Acre to his father. This manœuvre was too transparent, for in Turkey the rule was that Pachas took a Pachalic and asked for the permission afterwards.

The Viceroy had offered a large annual tribute for the firman of the Pachalics of all Syria,<sup>1</sup> but no answer was given to this proposition.

<sup>1</sup> This may remind our readers of Prince Milan's offer of “tribute” to the Porte for the addition to his principality of the provinces of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, as said to have been proposed by Mr. Christies in his mission to Constantinople, previous to the declaration of hostilities on the part of Servia.

Troops were sent from Cairo as soon as the weather permitted, and the fleet set sail for Acre in December, in the hope of taking the fortress before the bad weather of February. Ibraheem Pacha, who was the Commander-in-Chief, met with very bad weather, and some of his ships were compelled to return to Alexandria to refit.

Meh'med Ali was at the head of a numerous army, drilled and commanded by European officers; his fleet already numbered five line-of-battle ships and several frigates. Absolute master of the resources of Egypt, in which he became sole proprietor, sole merchant, and sole manufacturer, he found means to extort from the most wretched of all populations the wherewithal to meet the expenses of the conflict.

Such was the state of things when the army of Meh'med Ali appeared before the walls of St. John d'Acre to take vengeance for a supposed affront offered by Abdallah Pacha. This was the pretext which covered the Viceroy's projects, but in reality he could not help himself.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He knew that from time immemorial, weakness or failure in Turkish affairs is destruction, and, to Pachas, decapitation;

It was well known to the Cabinets of Europe that his view in besieging Acre was but the prelude to ulterior plans, for he had made no secret of his bellicose intentions, and had long before declared that should the Sultan refuse him the four Pachalics of Syria he would march to Constantinople. England, France, and Austria had a great interest in preserving the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The continuance of peace in the Turkish dominions could not but increase the power of the Grand Seignor and form a barrier to the encroachments of Russia. There was every probability that Meh'med Ali might succeed in seating himself securely on the throne of Constantinople, but the Powers of Europe reflected that such an event was neither easy nor, if effected, likely to be of long duration.

The veneration with which the Turks look upon the authority of the Sultan is not confined to himself alone, but is extended to his family. As a proof of this may be cited the constant

that if he did not attack the Porte, the Porte would depute Pachas to attack him, promising them a good share of the plunder.

succession of a prince of the royal line to the throne following any insurrection of the Janissaries in which the reigning monarch was put to death. Therefore the accession of Meh'med Ali to the sovereignty of Turkey would have been the signal for the revolt of all the Pachas and the subversion of all tranquillity in the Empire, as every private individual would then have had an equal right to the throne.

“ALEXANDRIA, 4th February, 1832.

“Meh'med Ali's existence depends upon his taking Acre. He does not know whether his head is on his shoulders, or between his legs, or under his arm.<sup>1</sup> The siege of Acre has now continued three months, and there is no immediate prospect of its falling. The Viceroy has offered 100,000 purses to the Porte for the firman appointing him to the Pachalics of Acre and Damascus. All his ships have been shattered without doing the least injury to the enemy, and will require some three, some four, and some five months to repair their damages.

<sup>1</sup> When a Turk is decapitated in Turkey, his head, if not taken away and sent to Constantinople, is placed under his arm; but if a Christian, it is placed between his legs.

“ . . . The Viceroy is going to send three European engineers to the siege ; only one of them has any talent, old Romei, who took Missolunghi, but was rejected by Ibraheem Pacha, then in the Morea, on account of his having demanded an increase of pay from the miserable stipend of 1,200 piasters a month ! ”

Mr. Barker had, some months previous to this, drawn on himself the ill-will of some persons at Alexandria by having taken possession of the schooner *Symmetry*, and imprisoned the master, Lind, and the supercargo, Evans. Some of the merchants and Captain Lyons, of the *Blonde*, had sided with the prisoners. The *Symmetry* was a schooner loaded with arms and ammunition for the Poles, and the proprietors of the cargo had obtained from the Lord Chancellor an “ injunction ” to prevent the vessel’s leaving England ; but Lind had evaded this order and sailed for Constantinople, although he knew the insurrection had failed, intending to sell the cargo and pay Evans and himself what they had disbursed ; but stress of weather had compelled him to go to Alexandria.

Mr. Barker received a letter, presented by the agent of the owners of the ship and cargo, with the original "injunction" from the Lord Chancellor to seize the property. He could have avoided imprisoning the captain and the supercargo, but as he knew Lind to be a desperate character, he was afraid he might blow up the ship. He had previously incurred the displeasure of Captain Lyons and his officers by forwarding to him some complaints of tradesmen who applied to him, the Consul, for payment of their bills; an interference the officers highly resented, and sent him an insolent letter, presented by a midshipman at eleven o'clock at night, crumpled up in his hand. Some of the merchants were opposed and inimical to him because he would not submit to the Viceroy's exactions in sealing up shops arbitrarily, imposing monopolies, etc., and because he steadily opposed the Pacha's views of going to Constantinople; and this particularly gave them great umbrage, for they had extensive commercial dealings with Meh'med Ali, and, unfortunately, commerce and politics are sometimes antagonistic. They knew and

acknowledged he had done his duty by seizing the ship, but they objected to the "imprisonment of British subjects."

On the 17th August, 1832, he writes on this subject :—

"Mr. C. A. CALVERT,

"London.

" . . . At the same time, I had the satisfaction to receive from Lord Palmerston a letter in which he approyes of my conduct in the sequestration of the *Symmetry*, and the arrestation of the master and supercargo. It appears his lordship was prevailed upon by the shipbrokers (who are themselves implicated in the irregular transactions of the *Symmetry*) and others to quash the business by taking upon himself *sans forme de proces* to order me to deliver up the ship and cargo to the attorneys of the Bank of Poland, in order to obviate the necessity of Evans and Lind being sent to England for trial in a court of law. After the consignment was made, and the Russian flag hoisted on the *Symmetry*, the prisoners were set at liberty. They, of course, to keep up

their credit, still talk big, and menace me with a prosecution for false imprisonment, etc. ; but that's all a farce."

And yet when he went to England in 1844, on business, he was obliged to leave hurriedly, fearing a prosecution from which the Foreign Office declared they could not shield him. There is not the least doubt that he knew the risk and trouble he was bringing upon himself, and that he acted from a scrupulous high sense of duty, for in the following letter addressed to his brother at Cairo, *before* the affair of the *Symmetry*, he says :—

“ ALEXANDRIA, 14th July, 1831.

“ . . . I have never imprisoned any man above the rank of a common sailor or servant, and I hope I shall continue to find means of avoiding the exercise of an authority which is nowhere distinctly established and consequently is always done more or less at a Consul's own risk and responsibility.”

At that time there was no Consular Court, as there is now, in Egypt, and he was obliged to imprison and maintain the authority he repre-

sented in the best manner he could—the arm of the law. The Consular arm was very feeble. Maltese and Ionians committed murders, and all that could be done with them was to send them to Malta and Corfu, where, as no witnesses appeared against them, or, if they did, could not fulfil the conditions required by the laws of those islands, they were released, and a month afterwards they returned to Egypt to commit further crimes. Nor in regard to British subjects was the case any better: they set the Consul's authority at defiance because it never had been clearly defined. The King's commission conferred on him only the "authority which had been exercised and the privileges which had been enjoyed by his predecessor."

On the subject of this imprisonment Mr. Barker writes an interesting letter which explains the whole affair.

#### EXTRACT.

"I inclose you, for further information, copies of two documents which Reinlein received a fortnight ago, and which will tend to open your eyes to the first great fundamental fallacy,

namely, that Evans in flying from the laws of his country was labouring to prevent the property from being embezzled by Meyer, Gryzmala, and Rabiere, in order to preserve it from its real owners. The real owners have now come forward—to do what? To thank Mr. Evans for his zeal in their service? No: to declare that Meyer, Gryzmala, and Rabiere acted by their authority when they applied to the Lord Chancellor for the injunction, and consequently confirm the law proceedings which were instituted against him in England.

“These are the outlines of the case. The Bank of Poland put £27,000 into the hands of Evans: for that sum to this instant he has not rendered any account, but with two-thirds of it he purchased a ship and cargo, which he made over to Col. Rabiere **BY ORDER OF THE BANK.**

“The ship not having been able to land its cargo in the Baltic, returned to Sheerness. Evans, now, as if he had ‘repented him of the evil,’ in having let go any part of the money with which he had been entrusted, and finding in Lind a decided character, by a false bill of lading, and the bribe of £500, prevailed upon the Captain

to run away from Sheerness, late at night, on the 6th September, 1831. On the 3rd September application is made by Meyer, Gryzmala, and Co. to the Lord Chancellor, to prevent the ship being removed. On the 4th both Lind and Evans are served with a letter of attorney, acquainting them with the commencement of a suit in chancery. On the 7th September the injunction is issued. On the 9th, Evans, being then at Plymouth, receives intelligence of an order and copy of the injunction having been left at his lodgings in London on the 8th. On the 11th the *Symmetry* arrives at or off Plymouth, and on the 12th September, 1831, he joins the ship, and they set sail for the Brazils; but, springing a leak, they made for Gibraltar,—the leak, made by a rat hole, being rather too serious to pass over a large sea, and distant from land. And yet, simple as these facts are, Evans has succeeded in persuading Gliddon, Lyons, and many others, without the shadow of a document in support of his story, that Meyer and Gryzmala, who put the property in chancery, were the rogues that wanted to embezzle it, and that Andrew B. Evans and Captain George Lind

[the “decided character”], who carried it off from Sheerness in violation of the laws of their country, are the only honest men of the party. In one of the intercepted letters the brother of Evans informs him that there is no salvation for him unless he makes a voluntary abandonment of the ship and cargo in favour of the Bank of Poland before the Consul. That letter reached him a few days after I had sequestered the property on the affidavit of Gryzmala. Evans in one of his letters to his brother expresses his fears of the ship and papers compromising the brothers H. and P., declaring that they are all irregular.

Acre was taken at last, 27th May, 1832, after many losses and much suffering by the troops from the heavy rains and cold of the winter, to which they were not accustomed. The thin cotton clothes of the Egyptian soldiers were not suited to a colder and more rainy latitude, and if there had not been excellent arrangements in commissariat and ambulance, by European officers, the greater part would have perished.

Immediately after the taking of Acre, Ibraheem Pacha, with 30,000 men, advanced on Damascus, which opened its gates to him; the army of the Sultan, commanded by Mohammed Pacha, retreating northward. At Homs the Turks resolved to make a stand; a battle was fought there, in which the Sultan's army was completely routed, losing 2,000 killed and 3,000 prisoners, with many cannon. It is said they had 35,000 men. Ibraheem lost only 200, and less than 200 wounded. The Sultan's army retreated still northward, and rallied at Bailan, the heights of which they fortified with artillery.

The news of the Sultan's army's defeat flew along the coast, and the towns vied with one another in sending deputations to welcome the conqueror. The Governor or Mayor of Aleppo, Abdallah Bey Babilsee, was reinstated by Ibraheem in his office.

Antioch he took with eleven men.

The difficulty was at the Bailan Pass. Here a narrow road, running for half a mile along a precipice, with artillery on the commanding heights opposite, awaited Ibraheem's army.

The Sultan had sent Hussein Pacha, the old Aga of the Janissaries, to take command of the army, who arrived in time to fortify and defend the Bailan Pass. After a preliminary cannonade the Egyptians carried the road and the heights at the point of the bayonet, and the Sultan's forces retreated, through Cilicia and the Koolak Boghaz Pass, into Asia Minor. Here the pass is impregnable, and if the least attempt had been made to fortify and defend it, the Egyptian army could not have advanced to Koniah. Hussein Pacha retreated to the neighbourhood of this town, and awaited the Egyptians there. As soon as Mohammed Pacha, who had been twice defeated, and Hussein Pacha heard of the approach of Ibraheem's army, they evacuated Koniah, leaving much artillery and munitions of arms behind them.

The Sultan, appalled at the success of the Egyptians, appointed Rescheed Pacha (who had already gained a reputation by conquering a noted rebel, Mustapha Pacha), Generalissimo of all the forces, and Grand Vizier (for the occasion), to take the command of the army.

In the meantime Ibraheem Pacha had chosen his ground in the vicinity of Koniah, and made his troops exercise, to accustom them to the ground. On the 18th December he defeated the vanguard of the Sultan's army, and a day or two afterwards, perceiving the Turks advancing, he took up the positions he had prepared. A fog coming on, the enemy were unable to place their men on advantageous ground, and in the confusion which ensued, a space was left open between the cavalry and the left wing of the infantry. A sudden clearing up of the fog showed Ibraheem Pacha the advantage he could take, of which he profited immediately by charging between the lines, and taking the Grand Vizier prisoner. This threw the army into disorder, and the infantry retreated, taking with them sixty out of eighty pieces of artillery. One regiment of cavalry and two battalions of infantry were taken prisoners.

As soon as the news of this victory reached Smyrna, the town expelled their "Mutzeleem," or Governor, and appointed one in the name of Meh'med Ali and of his authority.

On the 13th January the Russian Government sent a Lieutenant-General, Mouravieff, in the *Stchandart* to Alexandria, with a verbal message threatening Meh'med Ali with their forces by sea and by land if he persisted in advancing on Constantinople. The French at this time held a contrary policy, and busied themselves in siding with the Viceroy against the Porte, if one may judge by the acts of the French Consul-General, Monsieur Mimaut, and all the French Colony in Egypt, who were very particularly in his favour. Monsieur Mimaut received eighteen sheets of cypher from the French Government on the subject. He declared verbally to Meh'med Ali that "England and France would never allow the interference of Russia in the *domestic* affairs of Turkey." He was right in the main, though not in the way he intended, as the event afterwards proved. The French Government would have wished to have seen Meh'med Ali at Constantinople; but the Russians were so quickly at the Bosphorus that of two evils the French chose the least, and supported the Sultan against their will.

The British Cabinet did not declare its policy, and Mr. Barker did not receive from home any instructions favourable to Meh'med Ali's projects. He himself was always opposed to them, and persistently told the Viceroy that his idea of dethroning the Sultan was a delusion. So far from being annoyed, or resenting this frankness, Meh'med Ali admired and respected Mr. Barker for his independent spirit and truthfulness, and they were the best friends in the world. A firman, or "Bourjourldee," was delivered to him to send to his steward, on his silk-plantation at Souedeeyah, for *special protection* from the evils attendant on the war in Syria; a copy of which document, with a translation, was sent in a private letter by Mr. Barker to Lord Palmerston—"in order that your lordship may be assured that British interests in this country cannot but be beneficially influenced by the personal friendship and private good understanding happily existing between me and the Viceroy of Egypt."

The Austrian corvette *l'Adria* arrived also with dispatches to Mr. Acerbi, the Austrian

Consul-General, of the same tenor as those of General Mouravieff.

A few weeks subsequently the Sultan sent a special Ambassador, Haleel Pacha, to the Viceroy, who arrived on the 21st January, 1833, and was received by him with the greatest marks of distinction. A salute of seventeen guns was fired. On reaching the palace at the foot of the flight of stairs, Haleel Pacha was assisted by two officers of the Viceroy, Osman Pacha and Samee Bay, each supporting an arm, as he advanced to ascend the steps. The Viceroy descended at the same time, and they met nearly in the middle, Haleel Pacha continually entreating His Highness not to descend. On meeting, Haleel Pacha attempted to seize the Viceroy's hand with the intention of carrying it to his lips, but the Viceroy prevented him by embracing him and kissing him on the cheek; but Haleel Pacha succeeded in imprinting a kiss on the hand of His Highness. They then made their way through a dense crowd to the Hall of Audience, the Viceroy's right hand being locked in the right hand of Haleel Pacha, who

had his other arm round the waist of His Highness. In that position they proceeded *half-way* up the long Audience Chamber, when Meh'med Ali seated himself on the divan, and Haleel Pacha close to him; the latter of whom immediately took the respectful posture of sitting with his legs doubled up under him.<sup>1</sup>

The Viceroy then made the usual exclamation of “Tazay kaway!” (fresh coffee), although it was Rammadan. Two most magnificent jewelled pipes were brought, of which and of the coffee the guests partook, on the plea of the indulgence accorded by the Mohammedan law to travellers. The Viceroy did not break his fast. In a few minutes after the coffee, Haleel Pacha put his hand into his breast, and took out an unsealed letter (not enveloped in a silken bag, as usual), and presented it to Meh'med Ali, who unfolded it, put on his spectacles, and read it; but as the dependents and courtiers were excluded a little before the letter was delivered, it is

<sup>1</sup> The above is exactly the Turkish etiquette established for receptions of persons of equal rank, or for a person of lower rank, but to whom special distinction is intended to be shown.

uncertain whether the Viceroy kissed it on its being put into his hands, but he certainly received it *sitting*. The door-curtain was then let down; the conference lasted an hour. On the emissary retiring, the Viceroy did not accompany him to the door, but merely rose from his seat and stood where he was. This mission did not influence Meh'med Ali's plans of pushing forward with the greatest energy the reinforcements to his army in Asia Minor; he did not countermand the 2,600 troops ready to embark, but they were detained in port by bad weather.

In the meantime, on the 20th January, Ibraheem Pacha resolved to advance, and arrived near Kutaiyah. The Viceroy had given commissions to merchants at Leghorn and at Marseilles, to charter vessels for the sole purpose of conveying to him at Alexandria any declaration in his favour by England and France (which he awaited with the greatest anxiety) the instant it could be known in those ports.

The negotiations through Haleel Pacha fell through. Meh'med Ali, in spite of his pacific

declarations to General Mouravieff and to the Austrian Consul-General, pushed secretly, and sometimes even openly, his warlike preparations with great vigour. Troops were embarked, and a ninth line-of-battle ship was even laid down on the slip.

But on the 20th February, 1833, the French Admiral Roussin sent an officer named Monsieur Olivier to the Viceroy to inform him that France and England had resolved to enforce his acceptance of the terms of peace, on the basis of the four Pachalics of Syria, Adana, and Egypt. The Russians had sent 6,000 troops to the Sultan's assistance, who arrived at the Bosphorus on the 20th February, 1833, followed by 12,000 men more on the 15th April.<sup>1</sup> Ibraheem now saw that any further advance on his part would be madness. His father and he consented to the terms of peace, which, by the concurrence of the European Powers, was embodied in a firman of May 6th, 1833, by which the Porte con-

<sup>1</sup> As soon as France and England perceived the Porte had thrown itself into the arms of Russia, they engaged the Sultan to renounce this naval and military aid from Russia, France binding herself to guarantee Meh'med Ali's acceptance of the proposed terms of peace.

firmed Meh'med Ali in his government of Crete and Egypt, and added to them those of Jerusalem, Tripoli, Aleppo, Damascus, and Adana. The Russians, taking advantage of the straits to which the Sultan was reduced, obliged him to sign the treaty of Hunkiar Iskelessi on the 8th July, 1833, to which was attached a secret article binding him to close the Dardanelles against the men-of-war of all other foreign Powers.

Mr. Barker, on the 5th February, 1833, received a dispatch from Lord Palmerston, the Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, informing him that Lieut.-Colonel Patrick Campbell had been appointed to succeed him as Agent and Consul-General, and that "he would be ready on his return to England to recommend him to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, for such retired allowance as the nature and duration of his services may justify."

While the Egyptian army was marching from Antioch to Bailan, Ibraheem Pacha went to Souedeeyah to look at the port there, and passing near Mr. Barker's villa and garden, stayed the

night, and sent him from thence the following letter :—

Translation from the Arabic of a letter written by His Highness Ibraheem Pacha to John Barker, Esq., British Consul-General in Egypt, dated from Mr. Barker's house at Souedeeyah, the 17th Rabi il Awal, 1248 [12th August, 1832].

“The glory of the Christian religion, the worthy support of the followers of Jesus, my dear Mr. Barker, whom God preserve !

“After having offered the reiterated assurances of my attachment, declared my ardent desire to see you again, and asked after the state of your precious health, I hasten to inform you that I arrived at Antioch, and having to-day to go and visit the port at Souedeeyah, I halted on my way at your garden, situated in the neighbourhood. My arrival coincided happily with the season when all the fruits of Europe and Arabia are found; and after having eaten of every kind, I decided on passing the night, and on going to-morrow to Antioch.

“Your steward, who inhabits this garden, presented me an order from my august father, who recommends me to protect him ; and in order to

conform to that sacred will, as well as in friendship to you, I will seek all occasions of befriending him. In truth, the extreme delights of this place—the picturesque situation, the mildness of the temperature, the abundance of fruits—confers on it the first rank after the town of Damascus, which is without dispute the terrestrial paradise.

“I confess that in all this country I have not seen any place to be compared to Souedeeyah. I doubt even if you yourself, to whom this place owes its embellishments, have ever enjoyed the same pleasure as I have in this delightful night spent here. Our sincere friendship engages me to address you this friendly letter in order that I may let you know the extreme satisfaction that I have met with in your house.

“I hope you will continue to write to me, in expressing whatever you may wish to communicate. May God preserve you!

“The 17th Rabi il Awal, 1248.”

(Sealed with the seal of His Highness Ibraheem Pacha.)

## CHAPTER XI.

Mr. Barker leaves Egypt for Syria.—Hadjee Ismaeel Effendee.—A Begging Dervish.—Anecdote of an Octogenarian.—The Viceroy continues his Warlike Preparations.—Building of Barracks and Hospitals in Syria.—Conscription.—Taxation.—Invasion of Locusts.—Their Propagation and Habits.—Preparations to destroy them.—Ibraheem Pacha gathers Locusts in his Cap.—The Plague stayed.—Mr. Barker returns to Aleppo.—Anecdote of Mr. Nussree Howa's Mortifications.—The French Consul and the Murderer.—Return to Souedeeyah in the Spring of 1834.—Betias, his Summer Retreat.

AFTER he had delivered the archives and papers to his successor, Colonel Patrick Campbell, Mr. Barker left Egypt for Syria 31st May, 1833, and repaired to his villa and garden at Souedeeyah, at the mouth of the Orontes river, and four hours from Antioch; where he set about planting trees and building rooms for himself and family to pass the summer months in; intending to reside during the winter at Aleppo. But so agreeable did he find this spot, and so much engrossed did he become in gardening affairs, that he spent also many winters there.

His family joined him in December of the same year, and went up to Aleppo, where they passed the winter of every year, returning in the summer to Souedeeyah.

On his coming back to his villa, many of the Turks who had known Mr. Barker so many years came to welcome him. Among others was a rich landed proprietor, but one who was not connected with the Government in any way, named Hadji Ismaeel Effendee. On enquiring how he had fared in his absence, he said, " You know I had the misfortune to lose my wife and my five children in the earthquake. Well, I have now repaired that loss. I have now another wife, and God has given me again five children; but a little more ill-luck, and my house would have been ruined entirely,"—meaning if he had been killed himself.

" And how are your silk gardens getting on ? I hear your peasants rob you extensively."

" I know they do ; but what does it signify ? I am, and will continue to be, a rich proprietor, and an Aga [gentleman], and they always are, and always will be, peasants."

Mussulmans take such things very philosophically. The loss of a wife or of an estate is only an accident; it is “kismet” (destiny), and nothing more is thought of it. Some of their ideas, however, merit attention, and their maxims evince a simplicity which is refreshing.

Mr. Barker was one day paying a visit to the Governor of Antioch, when a begging Dervish, all in tatters, came in and put his rosary of beads into the Governor's hand.

“What is this?” said the Governor. “How is it that you are giving to me, whereas it is I who ought to be giving to you?”

“Ah!” said the Dervish, “human affairs are based on the principle of giving and taking,”—reciprocity, a profound principle!

Here is another:—

A Sultan riding abroad with his courtiers saw a very old man planting a tree.

“What are you doing, my good man? Planting a tree of which you cannot hope to eat the fruit?”

“True!” said the octogenarian; “but the world was given to us in a finished and perfect

state ; it is just, and our duty, to return it in the same state in which we received it."

" Give that man a purse of gold," said the Sultan, " for this act, and this sentiment."

" There !" said the old man, holding out the money in his hand to the courtiers, " see if I was not right. By planting this tree I have gathered the fruit. Mind you always do as I have done."

" Give him another purse !" said the Sultan ; " but let us run away, for if I remain here, this man will exhaust my treasury."

The firman from the Porte bestowing on Meh'med Ali the Pachalics of Syria and Adana, although signed with the concurrence of the Powers, did not seem to have set his mind at ease on the score of his security of tenure (Turks have no faith in one another), and we find him continuing to build ships and to make warlike preparations. The first steps taken by Ibraheem Pacha in Syria were to build barracks and hospitals for his soldiers. He built at Aleppo, on the heights of Shaykh-yebrik, large barracks for 4,000 cavalry. At

Antioch he built barracks for 2,000 or 3,000 infantry ; the same at Hamah, Damascus, Beyrout ; indeed, there were no towns in Syria or Adana of any importance where he did not build barracks or military hospitals.

The conscription became the great sore. The Egyptian being a just and strong Government, it guaranteed the lives and property of all its subjects. A woman could go alone with the greatest security, carrying any amount of money, from one end of Syria and Palestine to the other (in the plains, not in the mountains). Venality, corruption, was almost unknown, because very severely punished. The conscriptions, however, sometimes gave opportunities for bribing the military surgeons appointed to examine the recruits ; this was frequently done, and could never be detected.

The taxes levied were fixed, and would not have been felt by the population had they been tolerably reasonable ; but the great need of money to defray the expenses of the fleet and army was a drain nearly as heavy as the conscription for military service ; but this weighed heavier than all. The youths were seized in

the middle of the night, and drafted into the regiments ; some sent to Egypt or to the Hedjaz, to supply the constant waste of men carried off by war and disease, particularly the latter, on account of the difference of climate ; as, for instance, between the Hedjaz and Nubia and the north of Syria. Change of food and habits was also a great cause of mortality in the hospitals, which was very great ; and this became the great bugbear of the Egyptian domination. When a youth entered the ranks, his relations looked upon him as dead, for entering the hospital was fearful odds. As the value of exemption was great, the price paid for it was also great ; and many of the men in office received large sums for the favouring of exemption or invaliding of recruits. Substitutes were very expensive, sometimes £100 sterling,—which was a large sum for Syria. Wretched, indeed, were those who had not the means to procure exemption. All the institutions, all new regulations, had only one idea in view—military preparations ; and in order to carry out this great object much injustice and cruelty were committed, which

involved immense suffering on all classes, but particularly the working ones.

Ibraheem Pacha had much to contend with. Syria was a country accustomed to the change of masters, and the change familiarised the population with rebellion. All his endeavours to subdue the mountaineers of Latakia and Tripoli failed. These are the “Ansairee.” They used to come down and pillage his granaries and kill his officers, and return to their fastnesses. Whenever any were caught they were decapitated. The Houran district was always in chronic insurrection, and never completely submissive.”

It was one of the most unfortunate of political events that the Powers of Europe did not in 1833 agree together to do what they did in 1841, eight years afterwards,—guarantee to Meh'med Ail the tranquil possession of Egypt, with the succession to his descendants. It would have spared Syria and Egypt a world of suffering, and the expenditure of millions which have embarrassed Egypt's finances. If these Powers had had a perfect knowledge of what Turks are, they would have foreseen at a glance

that the unfortunate Meh'med Ali, without their guarantee, could not have acted otherwise than he did. As soon as England took the lead, and, together with Austria, Russia, and Prussia, gave him a solemn assurance of security in 1841, he gave up of his own accord the Sultan's fleet and Candia, and confined himself to Egypt. So true it is that "Knowledge is Power."

Here is a trait which shows Ibraheem Pacha's character in its true light.

The year after the Egyptians had taken Syria, it was well known that the grasshoppers (locusts) had been advancing through the desert from Egypt northward, and would, if not destroyed, eat up every green leaf in the Pachalic of Aleppo, and go on increasing to other Pachalics. The year previous they had laid their eggs in the great desert plains near Palmyra, and on the outskirts of the Aleppo district for miles; and as soon as the insects would be hatched by the warmth of the sun, and half grown, they would begin to gnaw and devour. Their eggs are contained in tiny cylinders buried in the earth, generally containing each a hundred eggs; and as every one of these is hatched and

thrives, it may easily be imagined how they swarm in a very short time. At first they are scarcely noticed, looking like a small dirty blackish-brown heap of rubbish; but in a few days thousands of little brown grasshoppers jump about and spread everywhere, so that one cannot set a foot anywhere without crushing them. As soon as they are half-grown they begin to go, all together, in *one* direction, jumping northwards, and never turn aside for any obstacle, unless a shadow is thrown over them, for their instinct is to be always in the sunshine. If that be done, then they jump from the shade into the sunshine. Knowing this feature of locust life, the peasants take advantage of it and go out, men, women, and children, at this period of their growth, and hold in their hands sheets, blankets, women's veils, coats,—anything, and form long lines, compelling the locust, who cannot yet fly, to jump away from the shade these things throw over them, in the direction they choose, to where deep ditches or trenches have been dug, into which they all jump; and when they are one over the other, one or one and a half feet deep in the trench (for they cannot jump out,

being one upon another, as the earth has been thrown upon the opposite side to the one they have come), the soil is shovelled over them and they are suffocated. By partially destroying in this manner every year a certain quantity, they are sensibly diminished, but never entirely exterminated. But if allowed to attain to their full growth, they fly away and settle to lay their eggs in another place, not having left anything for their progeny to eat the following spring when they are hatched in that locality. Sometimes a very high wind which prevails at that season carries them away to the sea and drowns them, or drives them into the desert, where they perish for want of sustenance before they can lay their eggs.

Ibraheem ordered all his troops and all the male inhabitants of Aleppo to go out and gather the young grasshoppers, compelling every man to give in a certain quantity, and to receive a ticket of release. Camels carrying water had been prepared, but every man was obliged to carry provisions for himself, sufficient for three days. Nearly all the male inhabitants of Aleppo went out on the day appointed. The

Pacha was there, superintending the gathering of the young grasshoppers, and throwing them into deep trenches cut by the soldiers and men, where they were buried and suffocated.

To stimulate the exertions of the people and give a good example, he gathered them in his red cap, or “fez,” crying out, “There, my men, let us all work, and the labour will be light for each.” This encouragement (for it was fearfully hot) gave a spur to the object in view; shouts of applause and acclamations showed redoubled exertions, and the plague of locust was stayed, and has never since become of any importance in the Pachalic of Aleppo, or in the neighbouring Pachalics.

When the advance of winter prevented Mr. Barker’s gardening operations, he went to join his family at Aleppo. There he was hailed with joyfulness by those friends who had not been able to go down to Soudeeyah on his arrival, and his old shooting companions and ancient dependents vied with one another in pressing invitations on him. Among others, Mr. Nusree Hawa, uncle of the Howds of Constantinople, his

dragoman of thirty years' standing, having heard he was coming to the Quarter Jedaideh, where his house was situated, to return some visits, and in order not to have to go back to his house, which was at some distance, invited Mr. Barker to lunch at his house in Jedaideh; but he begged Mr. Barker to remember it was Lent time, and as he was a devout Roman Catholic, he was afraid his lordship would not find the lunch to his liking, and begged Mr. Barker would excuse *nostri mortificazioni*. At the time fixed, Mr. Barker arrived at Mr. Nusree's house, and after the usual greetings, was ushered into a room in which was a table laid out for fifteen people, with at least thirty dishes of Lenten viands: fish dressed in a variety of ways—crab, whitebait, turtle, lampreys, etc.; vegetables preserved and dressed so as to taste like meat (there is also a fish called “Fratee,” the largest eatable river fish known, brought from the Euphrates, sometimes twelve feet long, of excellent flavour); sweet dishes in endless variety to choose from, etc.

“Oh!” said Mr. Barker, “these are your *mortificazioni*, are they? I would like to mor-

tify myself in this manner every day of my life."

Speaking of Lent reminds us of an incident which occurred about this time, when Monsieur Henri Guys was French Consul at Aleppo. A Christian who had committed murder (unwillingly, according to him) came to the French Consulate for refuge, and entreated Mr. Guys to interest himself in proving to the Government that he was innocent. The French Consul, who was a very worthy, kind-hearted man, told him he might remain under the protection of the French flag until he had time to attend to his affair. Several days elapsed before the dragoman could take his matter in hand; and in the meantime a Lent day, or fast-day, arrived. The Consul's cook, who came for orders, was told by Mr. Guys that he did not intend to fast this day, and that he need not prepare any Lenten dishes.

"Very well," said the cook; "but we have the Christian in the kitchen: he keeps Lent."

"What!" said Mr. Guys; "here is a man who commits murder, and he is squeamish about Lent! Turn him out of my house this instant.

He is too religious and good a man to be under my roof. Let him find some more holy place ; " and the man was sent away at once.

On the first approach of spring Mr. Barker returned to Souedeeyah to enjoy the delightful refreshing burst of nature, which in the fine climate of Syria is so exhilarating. The roses and other shrubs, peach, apricot, and apple blossoms perfume the air, and the mildness of the temperature gives a soothing tone to the nerves. Summer came on, and with it brought the great variety of fruits which Mr. Barker had collected from many places with much care and expense. When the heat became excessive he removed to Betias, a spot two hours' ride on the mountain, towards the north, about 2,000 feet above the level of the sea, where the air, by its buoyancy, is less oppressive than in the plains near the sea, and much cooler at night. Here Mr. Barker had a small house and garden, which he purchased solely to have a cool retreat in the hot weather.

In the meantime Ibraheem Pacha could not subdue the people in the mountainous parts of Syria, who had never been subject to the Porte, because his regular troops could not perform

their manœuvres among rocks and trees, and his recruits from Egypt had never seen a mountain, and were totally unacquainted with guerilla warfare. The only troops able to cope with the mountaineers would have been the Albanians, but these had been disbanded three years before, when Meh'med Ali had resolved to advance into Syria, in order to be a match for the Sultan's army, which he had heard had been assimilated to European regular troops; but before he left Syria he was obliged to have recourse again to Albanian soldiers for the mountains.

The Ansairee mountaineers, who inhabit the high mountainous range between Latakia and Tripoli, heard that the nephew of Ibraheem Pacha, Ismaael Bey, would land at Souedeeyah, on his way to Aleppo, and sent 100 of their people there in the hope of taking him, and carrying him off as hostage. They came at daybreak on the 3rd November, 1834, and must have been at least three days on the road. They first attacked the house of a Greek Christian named Youssouf Saba, the notable man of the place, employed by the Pacha as his agent, where they expected to find Ismaael Bey, and then the

house of Abdallah Kehya, chief of the village, and pillaged them. They did not find Ismaeel Bey, but they found a Greek Bishop of Latakia, who had 150 purses in his saddle-bags (a very large sum), and a Russian priest, who had 50 purses, which he was taking to Jerusalem ; and they carried off this money.<sup>1</sup>

The Russian priest applied through his Consul and Ambassador and Consul-General at Alexandria, and soon recovered from Meh'med Ali's Government all his money ; but the Bishop, being a subject of the Sultan, was not so fortunate. He worked hard for several years, which were spent in applications, and recovered only a part of what he had lost.

These lawless marauders passed before the outer gate of Mr. Barker's garden, but did not go in, saying as they went, to the peasants, "Your master is a good man. We hear he does a great deal of good. We will not do him any harm." They did not, however, respect seven Turkish pilgrims and three women about to embark for Latakia, for they took all the money they found on them, but left them their clothes.

<sup>1</sup> Altogether about £1,000.

## CHAPTER XII.

Colonel Chesney's Euphrates Expedition.—Camp formed on the 3rd April, 1835.—Governor of Antioch compelled by the Pacha to Superintend the Works.—Description of Mr. Barker's Garden and Villa.—Colonel Chesney.—His Character.—Anecdote on the Loss of the *Tigris* Steamer.—Turtles.—Ibraheem Pacha's Palace at Antioch.—His Message.—Mr. Barker's Son Burckhardt plays Chess with him.—Marriage of his Nephew Ismaeel Bey at Aleppo.—Shereef Bey's Harem.—Circassian Ladies.—Anecdote.—Settlement of Mr. Barker's Pension through the Duke of Wellington.—Prince Puckler Muskaw.—His Letter.—Dyeing a Wife Black.

ON the 3rd April, 1835, the expedition for the survey of the Euphrates river, under the command of Colonel Chesney (afterwards General Chesney), arrived at Souedeeyah, and formed a camp near the sea at the mouth of the river Orontes.

Meh'med Ali Pacha, who had promised to give his assistance to the British Government in favour of the undertaking, when the moment came to give a *bouyourldee* to the local Governors, as a token of his goodwill for the enterprise, and to enjoin them to assist Colonel

Chesney, put off signing it, and the expedition arrived but could not proceed. Ibraheem Pacha had also written to his agent, Youssouf Saba, and to the Mootsellim, or Mayor, of Antioch, prohibiting the prosecution of their advance to the Euphrates until his father's orders had been received by them; and although Colonel Chesney saw him at Latakia on the 24th April, he could not prevail upon him to do otherwise than await his father's orders.

There was nothing to be done but to await the arrival of this necessary document, and Colonel Chesney availed himself of the delay to exercise the men by putting together one of the small iron boats destined to steam on the Euphrates, and launching it on the river Orontes. This was done, and Mrs. Barker, on the 23rd May, broke a bottle on her bows and named her the *Tigris*.

Three days afterwards, Ibraheem Pacha arrived at Souedeeyah in the Egyptian steamer *Nile*, breakfasted at Mr. Barker's house, and went on to Antioch. His Highness declined giving any orders until he could hear from his father. At last, on the 3rd June, the *bouyourldee* was

received, and Ibraheem Pacha gave the permission and ordered Haji Halef Aga, the Mootsellim of Antioch, to go himself and assist in furthering the progress of the expedition by superintending the levelling of the road for the waggons, and the men and oxen for drawing them.

It is difficult to imagine how anything could be more distasteful to this proud, haughty, exclusive, fanatical Turk than this job, to stand in the hot sun of June for hours and wait upon the Ghiaours,—a terrible fall from his dignity. Only those who know the rich Antioch-Turkish proprietors can sufficiently appreciate what he must have suffered! But it was as much as his head was worth to refuse, and go through it he did. Ibraheem Pacha could not be trifled with.

Mr. Barker was delighted to have an opportunity of welcoming his countrymen and seeing them at his table. Nothing could give him greater pleasure than to hear “some English are coming.” His house was always open to all nations, but particularly to his countrymen and countrywomen. It was something like an hotel: any letter of introduction was sufficient

to ensure a hearty welcome, and everything was put in requisition to entertain and please his guests.

At the time the officers of the expedition arrived at Souedeeyah the season was propitious ; the flowering of the roses and shrubs, the orange blossoms and jessamine, the peach, apricot, and apple blossoms, perfumed the air. The strawberries and cherries, the "loquat," or Indian medlars, and the early apricots, were ripe. When sitting after dinner smoking in the bower, which was covered with a variety of roses and creepers, all flowering at this season, around a jet of water bubbling up, they had the pleasure of hearing a large self-playing organ playing pieces from the best Italian operas. This organ, made at Vienna, had all the pipes of wood, which emitted a mellow tone very different from the sound from metal pipes, and imitated an orchestra of wind instruments—the flute, the fife, the haut-boys, etc. This organ was in a pavilion, built on purpose to receive it, near the bower and jet of water. There was also a piano, on which one of Mr. Barker's sons played ; and, on going up, a "belvedere," or look-out, from which the camp

could be seen, and the boats sailing in and out of the river. The view of the conical mountain Casius completed the scene. Towards evening the bleating of sheep and the lowing of cattle coming home to the peasants' houses, at a distance, gave the impression and feeling of perfect rural repose and calm.

Souedeeyah was, and is, a lovely spot in spring and summer. At that time it was subject to fever every four or five years, and many of the officers and men were down with the fever, or rather ague, because there were marshes in two or three places; but all that has ceased long since. The marshes have been so completely drained that the land has all been ploughed up and cultivated for more than twenty years.

Mr. Barker was glad to renew his acquaintance with Colonel Chesney, whom he had met in Egypt, and whose agreeable manners he mentions in one of his letters we have transcribed as having "pleased" him. He was now to find, on nearer acquaintance, that the opinion he had entertained of this distinguished officer was a just one, and to remark further the qualities, activity, and perseverance which were character

istic. No difficulty (and he met with such at every step) could dishearten him, no opposition could baffle him. The more insuperable a matter appeared, the more he strove to overcome it ; this is what is wanted in great undertakings, and it is the want of it which causes them to fail. In the case before us, all that could be done *was* done. Colonel Chesney was seconded by good officers, who were animated by his spirit, and who all did their duty, sometimes under very trying circumstances. They were treading unknown ground, and met with unexpected and unusual accidents. The whirlwind and storm which sank one of the steamers (*Tigris*) was an event which had never happened before, or at least, not for some centuries.

In coming out of the water on that eventful occasion, the Colonel's first look was to the other steamer (*Euphrates*), and when he saw she had weathered the storm, he snapped his fingers, and said, "Thank God, I have still one." There can be no doubt that he really did mentally thank his Maker for having left him *one*, because Colonel Chesney was eminently a religious man, and, like all who

accomplish great deeds, trusted in a High Power, which alone *can* bring them to a happy issue, and gave to God the glory. No effort of human imagination or power can accomplish any good result unless it be so ordained. All the armies of the world combined cannot do anything, in this sense, *alone*.

Although neglected and overlooked by an ungrateful country, his name will live for ever as the pioneer of the greatest work, in reference to India, of the nineteenth century, and one which will one day be seen in its true light as being the only real route to our Indian possessions.

On the 8th June camels began to carry the stores to Berijik, on the Euphrates; and on the 20th the road had been sufficiently levelled, and five of the waggons carrying the large parts of the iron steamers, boilers, etc., were got up the hill. Three more set off the next day, and so on, until by degrees the whole camp was broken up on the 5th September.

On the 19th June the men at the camp caught four or five large turtles. These they caught in the moonlight, when they come out of the sea to lay their eggs in the sand.

They are always to be found in this season of the year, and easily turned on their backs by two or three men, before they can get back to the sea. Some weigh more than a hundred-weight. They are eaten neither by the Turks nor by the Christians nor by the Ansairee, and when a turtle entered Mr. Barker's kitchen all the servants refused to eat anything cooked in the saucepans till after they had been whitewashed or tinned; such is their great repugnance to this amphibious animal. The Mohammedan religion forbids that any animal which comes out of the sea and goes back again should be eaten, and the Christians and Ansairee, who have for so many years lived with Mohammedans, have imbibed the same prejudice.

Ibraheem Pacha chose Antioch as a residence and built a palace there in the most picturesque situation, overlooking the Orontes, and before the barracks. These two were built principally with the stones taken from the ancient walls of the town. The old fortifications were coated with large stones on each side and rubble in the middle. These walls formed an inexhaustible quarry for supplying stones, but so hard had the

Roman cement become that it was frequently necessary to blow up the walls with gunpowder and then detach the stones.

One day Ibraheem Pacha sent Mr. Barker a message by Youssouf Saba, his agent at Soue-deeyah, who was also Mr. Barker's *protégé* (nearly all his life), to the following effect:—

“ Ask my friend the Consul-General whether he does not now regret the money he has expended on his three sons' education in Europe? Ask him whether he does not think it would have been better for him, instead of giving them an education, to have put the money he spent, which I know must have been £300 a year (for I have educated young men in Europe) into some bank, and the money, augmented by the interest, would have been ready to form a capital for them now, or for them to have spent after his death. The education has not been of any use to them in this country, but the money would have been. Don't forget to ask him, and bring me back his reply.”

Of course Mr. Barker did not make any reply which would have been difficult for His Highness to comprehend. And yet Ibraheem

Pacha was a very enlightened man compared with other Turks,—which shows that however familiar an Oriental may be with Europe and its customs, civilizing the mind is a work of progression, and cannot be established prematurely.

At this time, when His Highness passed a part of the winter at Antioch, Mr. Barker's eldest son, William Burckhardt Barker, the author of several works ("Lares and Penates," and others), played chess with him almost every evening, and had an opportunity of forming a correct opinion of the Pacha's character and habits.<sup>1</sup>

In the spring of the following year, His Highness was desirous of consolidating his rule by forming a matrimonial connexion between his nephew Ismaeel Bey and one of the leading families in Aleppo, and engaged the daughter of Shereef Bey, grandson of Jellal il

<sup>1</sup> Although not so clever as his father, he was by no means wanting in intelligence and ability. He is said to have made the following proverb, well characterising the different towns:—

"Halebee, chelebee ; Shāmee, shōomee ; Latkānee, awanee ; Cupruslee, shaitānee ; Musree, harāmee."

#### TRANSLATION.

"Aleppine, polite ; Damascene, fop ; Latakian, false traitor ; Chipriote, clever devil ; Egyptian, thief."

Deen Pacha. All his staff officers from every part of Syria were invited, and it was evident that an effort was made to give the marriage all the éclat and splendour possible. The festivities lasted full a week. The castle was illuminated, and fireworks and guns fired at intervals during the evenings. The palace chosen for the receptions was just under the castle, because near the bride's father's house.

We had the honour of an invitation, and the Sardinian Consul also, but no other European gentlemen. Mr. Barker was at Souedeeyah at the time.

His Highness sat at the head of the dinner table, and the guests numbered thirty general officers. Bordeaux claret of the best quality ("the Pacha's wine"), drunk in tumblers, was almost the only wine at table, and no one was allowed to leave any in his glass. We were told to ask for other wines if we preferred them, but the Pacha drank no other. The dishes were some Oriental and some by His Highness's French *chef de cuisine* Benoit and confectioners. Many toasts and speeches enlivened the party, and from time to time military

bands played European airs. After dinner His Highness was told that two English ladies, accompanied by their husbands, who were known to him, had come to see the fireworks on the castle; he went out immediately, and brought one on each arm. After coffee and refreshments, he begged the ladies and gentlemen to dance a quadrille, which they consented to do; but as one of the gentlemen said he had never danced in his life, the Pacha volunteered to dance himself; and so he did, and went through the figures, with some prompting and direction, very creditably, though he had never before danced. The ladies figured in a waltz and then went away to see the fireworks.

The castle was open to the public for seven days.

The harem of Shereef Bey's house, considered to be one of the finest in Aleppo, has three courtyards, one within the other, ornamented with arabesques, and planted with orange trees and shrubs, and has fine marble fountains throwing up jets of water. The rooms are blue and gilt and green and gilt, painted in the Persian style. The panels are orna-

mented by sentences from the Koran beautifully illuminated.

Mrs. Barker was much pleased with some of the inmates of this harem, who were Circassian ladies of *high class*, and remarked a great contrast between them and the Turkish ladies. They are slight in figure, very pretty, and very *distinguée* in appearance and manners; whereas the Turkish women are stout and coarse.

One of these Circassian ladies told Mrs. Barker that it is the custom in their country, when two children are born at the same time, for friends to exchange them, and when they have attained the age of seven years they are re-exchanged and brought back with great rejoicings and festivities.<sup>1</sup>

An interesting anecdote is related of Circassians. A gentleman and lady were dining with General Roth in the Caucasus. The General is a Russian German of the provinces in the north. While they were at dinner, two young

<sup>1</sup> While we were in the Crimea, we enquired if this were true, and were assured by Russians who know the Caucasus well, that it was.

men, Circassian chiefs, begged to be allowed to speak to the General; they were invited to come in and sit down. One of the young men said that he came to present the General with a horse, of which he begged his acceptance, and to invite him to his sister's marriage; at the same time he presented his companion as the intended bridegroom. When they had gone away the General related their story to his guests.

“ My soldiers having taken a Circassian village, and set fire to it, all the inhabitants fled. A young girl came rushing out, holding a dagger in her hand, and claiming my protection. I said to her, ‘ I have an only daughter, and you shall be in her place.’ I then placed her in my tent, and set a guard over it, and the next day I sent her with an escort to her relations. This is the girl who is now going to be married.

“ Some time afterwards, when I was sent to the same district, I perceived that the Circassians, instead of resisting our attacks, ran away, and would not fight; and on my enquiring the cause of so unusual a circumstance, I was

told that it was because the family to whom the girl belonged would not let them fight any soldiers which I commanded."

The General also related that on visiting Circassian houses he found many vestiges of the Crusaders who, tradition says, lost themselves in the Caucasus mountains, and formed colonies. The Circassians have coats of arms, chairs, tables, fireplaces, and other objects of household use made in the European manner, very different from the Georgians, their neighbours,—remains which corroborate this tradition.

On the 1st March, 1836, Mr. Barker received from Mr. Backhouse, Under Secretary of State, a dispatch informing him that "the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury have been pleased to sanction the grant of an allowance of £650 a year to you as late Consul-General in Egypt, the same to commence from the 31st March, 1833."

This delay in fixing and allowing him to draw for his pension arose from some irregularity in the accounts of the salaries of the Consular officers in Egypt which the Audit Office had not "passed." As soon as Mr.

Barker was informed of this difficulty, he wrote to Alexandria, and the vouchers were transmitted from thence, and the matter settled.

Mr. Barker was indebted to His Grace the Duke of Wellington for the *prompt* settlement of his pension, which had been three years in suspense. As soon as the Duke came into office as Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, he ordered an immediate reply to be given to Mr. Barker's petition, and informed him of the cause of the delay in fixing his pension.

The distinguished and celebrated Prince Puckler Muskau paid Mr. Barker a visit, and wrote the following farewell letter to him :—

“ ALEXANDRETTA, 10th Oct., 1838.

“ DEAREST SIR,—

“ I delivered all the numbers of the *Observer* you had the kindness to lend me to Mr. Hays, who will forward them to you by the next opportunity. I returned the Persian antique candlestick to Mr. Diab.

“ My horses being now all well, have at

last started for Smyrna, where I hope very fervently they will meet in two months from hence the Sais Baschi you were so good as to recommend me.

"If you have any orders to give me for Constantinople, I beg you to dispose of me as freely as possible. I should be very glad if I could be of any little use to you, dear Mr. Barker, in return for the kindness with which you and your amiable family have received me at Suedia and Betias. The souvenir of these delightful days is very deeply engraved in my memory. The beauty of your romantic scenery, the quiet unassuming simplicity of your mode of life, the easy comfort of your house, and the pleasure of your lively and instructive conversation, formed altogether a very seducing picture to the weary traveller, and I should have liked to remain with you for years. At all events, I hope you will let me have from time to time some news of Suedia, and believe me, always and everywhere, very truly,

"Your affectionate friend and servant,

"PRINCE PUCKLER MUSKAU.

“P.S.—I have been staying a week with Mr. Hays at Alexandretta, without experiencing any bad effect of the *aria cattiva*.<sup>1</sup>

Lord Pollington and Monsieur le Comte de Caraman were also at Souedeeyah at the same time as the Prince.

After sending his servant to Persia for trees, and scions for grafts of some fruits he wished to procure, Mr. Barker sent one of his sons to Kaisseriah, in Asia Minor, to procure trees of the “yellow berry,” a rich source of profit in that district. While there he heard the following story related, which shows that “young Turkey” is more “cute” than is generally supposed.

A Turk shopkeeper (there are no Arabs in Asia Minor), quarrelled with his wife, pronounced the irrevocable divorce against her, and sent her away. By Mohammedan law she could not return to her husband before being married to another person, and then divorced

<sup>1</sup> The Prince was at Alexandretta in the month of October, when the climate and weather is refreshed by the “first and second rains.”

by him. Her two sons, of fifteen and seventeen years of age, very sorry to lose their mother, bethought them of a plan to get her back again. They went to a slave-dealer and got him to dye their mother black all over, and sell her to their father as an Abyssinian slave. When the dye commenced to wear off, he began to suspect he had been duped by the slave-dealer, but did not recognise his wife till she became white again,—much to the amusement of the two youngsters, who kept their own counsel. Report says the husband regretted the dye wore off, and would have preferred it had not.

## CHAPTER XIII.

The Porte Equips an Army.—Battle of Nizib.—The Traitor Fevzý Pacha.—Bombardment of St. Jean d'Acre.—Expulsion of the Egyptians.—Meh'med Ali loses Syria and Candia, but acquires Hereditary Succession.—Political Retrospect.—Martial Law proclaimed.—The Consuls leave Syria.—Projected Railway through Mesopotamia.—Advantages for Colonisation.—Persian Princes and Princesses.—Timour Mirza.—Shooting Gazelles at full Gallop.

THE Porte in 1838 summoned the Viceroy of Egypt to dismantle his fleet and reduce his army, as being a continual menace to his Suzerain, which could not be tolerated by the Sultan. This Meh'med Ali positively refused to do, and declared moreover that he would not pay tribute any longer. Early in

Ibraheem Pacha, who had well fortified it, there was no other route for the Sultan's troops than the one through the eastern part of the Taurus mountains to the town of Diarbekir, or its neighbourhood, on the eastern side of the Euphrates river.

Ibraheem Pacha on his part concentrated his forces at Aleppo, but was strictly enjoined by his father to remain on the defensive, and on no account to become the aggressor.

Great Britain and France fully expected the defeat of the Sultan's army; in which case they were apprehensive a Russian fleet would immediately come to Constantinople, and they endeavoured to persuade the Sultan to come to terms, but to no purpose. Mahmoud had either brooded so long over the resentment of his vassal's defiance, and could bear it no longer, or he listened to sinister counsels flattering his vanity in the success of his army: the fact remains, that he sent orders to Hafiz Pacha to attack the Egyptians. A battle was fought at Nezib on the 25th June, 1839, when whole regiments with their officers, bought by Ibraheem Pacha, went over to the Egyptians.

The Sultan's forces were completely routed, losing 10,000 prisoners, 15,000 muskets, 104 cannon, besides stores and provisions. Hafiz Pacha made no attempt to rally his forces : the confusion and scamper was disgraceful, justifying the reports of corruption ; for Turks fight very well, even when they have *not* "had a bottle of brandy," as a Pacha assured us "they require before any engagement." The Turks in this case were more numerous, better equipped, and better provisioned than the Egyptians, who were very short in this latter respect, some of the soldiers not having eaten anything for twenty-four hours. The quantity of rich silver furniture, gilt trappings, and articles of luxury brought into Aleppo after the battle, showed that the Sultan's troops had been well provided with everything.

Nearly at the same time Achmet Fevzy Pacha, commanding the Ottoman fleet, instead of making for Syria, traitorously delivered it into the Viceroy's hands, on the 13th July, 1839. These successes induced Meh'med Ali to temporise, and attempt the old usual Oriental trick of "gaining time," hoping for the assist-

ance of France, who did not join the other Allied Powers; and he refused their proffered mediation, on the basis of a treaty signed by the Four Powers at London on the 15th July, 1840.

Immediate steps were taken by the Allies to compel his acquiescence: thirteen ships of war and four steam vessels, under Commodore Napier and Admiral Stopford, attacked Beyrouth, which was taken on the 16th September. On the 26th Saida was in possession of the Allies, and soon after Tripoli and Latakia. The fortress of St. Jean d'Acre was defended by Soliman Pacha (Colonel Seves) and Schultz. The bombardment began on the 3rd November by Admiral Stopford in the *Phœnix* steamer and Commodore Napier in the *Powerful*. The previous night boats had been sent to take soundings of the depth of the water nearer the fortress, and buoys were placed to mark the spots. When the action began the British ships were thus enabled to come closer than Schultz had thought possible, for he had laid his guns for a farther range; the consequence was the shots from the fortress went into the rigging

of our ships, while every shot from them<sup>1</sup> told fearfully, and created a murderous fire. At four o'clock the powder magazine of the fortress exploded, and 2,000 are said to have perished. At six o'clock the firing ceased on both sides, and at midnight a boat came off to report the Egyptians were leaving, and by daybreak the besiegers took possession. The Allies lost only eighteen killed and forty-two wounded.<sup>1</sup>

Ibraheem Pacha's army on retreating by land was reduced by desertion from 60,000 to 20,000, and was so much harassed by the insurgent populations of Naplous and the Houran that a detachment, unable to get away to Egypt, came back to Acre and gave themselves up. Soliman Pacha, with the artillery, arrived safely at Cairo, but the two divisions, one under Meneklee Pacha and the other under Ibraheem Pacha the Lesser (nephew), suffered immensely from losses and dreadful privations before they reached

<sup>1</sup> Schultz, a Pole, defended Acre, but the popular voice in England gives a different name in the ballad :—

“ And what became of Mahmoud Bey ?—  
He got on his moke, and rode away,  
And d——d his eyes if he would stay  
At the siege of St. Jean d’Acre.

Egypt. It was a running fire till they arrived at the confines of the Desert of Gaza. Ibraheem Pacha's favourite physician, Cocchi, was killed by a stray ball. His Highness himself was sick at Jaffa, but was enabled to embark for Egypt.

Thus, at the end of December 1840, Syria returned to the Sultan, a few months after the accession to the throne of Mahmoud's son, Abd il Megeed Khan. Early in January 1841 Meh'med Ali withdrew his troops from Candia and sent the Sultan's fleet to Marmorice, a safe harbour on the coast of Asia Minor. A firman was sent him granting hereditary succession to his family, but the Turks, ever ready for intrigue, attempted to make it nugatory by inserting a clause that the Sultan should choose the successor from among his descendants. This His Highness persistently resisted, and a better and final firman was sent him, dated 13th February, 1841, by which the government of Egypt was secured to his descendants, 2,000,000 dollars to be paid as tribute, and that the principles of the Hatti Shereef promulgated by Mahmoud II. should form the basis of the laws of Egypt.

Let us here look back a little, and make a reflection on the events we have been recording.

When Mr. Barker was superseded in January 1833 by Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, our Government thought (Lord Palmerston was then in office), according to the line of policy then in favour, which was to wink at the Viceroy's ambitious views, that in Egypt a Consul-General of a more yielding disposition to Meh'med Ali was required, and Colonel Campbell was sent—a man the very reverse in that respect to Mr. Barker. When the policy again underwent a change, and it was decided by the British Cabinet to coerce the Viceroy, a man of a character entirely opposite to Colonel Campbell was appointed Consul-General—Colonel Hodges. The events which followed Mr. Barker's removal from Alexandria, and this decision of the Government against the Viceroy's projects in 1840, proved, by the sequel, that he had taken the *right* view of politics in opposing Meh'med Ali's idea of dethroning the Sultan, and that if his views and experience in Turkey had been taken in 1833 as the basis of action, all the

evils which fell upon the devoted land of Syria by the continual maintenance of warlike preparations would have been prevented; the dangerous precedent of Russian troops at Constantinople would never have occurred, nor would the Sultan Mahmoud have been compelled to sign the treaty of Un-kiar Iskelessi (one of the most fatal acts necessity ever inflicted on him) before he could get rid of these troublesome and dangerous “friends.”

As Mr. Barker had never been informed by his Government what policy he was expected to carry out towards the Viceroy, it was not his fault that his official bearing did not correspond with their wishes. Had he been instructed in their views he would have acted strictly to the letter of those instructions, however much he might have been of a contrary opinion; for his maxim, frequently repeated, and to be found in his letter of the 14th October, 1814 (bk. ix., page 28), was this:—“Follow orders, and do wrong if you can.” But subordinates are sometimes expected to divine their superior officers’ wishes.

As soon as the war broke out Soliman Pacha

issued a proclamation in Arabic, placing Syria under martial law, and Ibraheem Pacha ordering all English and French Consuls to leave the country, they embarked immediately on board men-of-war. An exception was made in favour of "his friend Mr. Barker," whose long established reputation for honourable dealing precluded the possibility of his intriguing against him, or of his taking any unfair advantage which this permission to stay might give him.

For several months after the departure of the Egyptians, British men-of-war and officers attached to the land expedition were on the coast of Syria, and many came to Souedeeyah. On the 14th July, 1841, Mr. Barker had the pleasure to entertain Commodore Pring, who came in the steamer *Stromboli*, commanded by Captain Williams, Colonel Colquhoun, Lieut.-Colonel Freestun,<sup>1</sup> Major Wilbraham, and his elder brother.

<sup>1</sup> We were told by some of the officers that when travelling along the long desert line of route between Homs and Hamah, they met Colonel Freestun coming in the opposite direction, riding in full uniform under a broiling sun, with his dragonian and two servants.

As soon as Mr. Barker saw a man-of-war off the bay, he used to send his horses for the captain and officers, accompanied by two dragomans and servants. While they were attending to the officers, the midshipmen, finding the dragomans' horses loose, would mount them, and begin racing with one another along the sandy beach, and the dragomans had a long twenty minutes' walk back on foot in the hot sun.

It was a day marked with white when Mr. Barker had an opportunity of receiving his countrymen, for whom nothing was too good, and showing them the lions at Souedeeyah—the “Old Port” of Seleucia, the “Ancient Tunnel” cut through the rock, “Mount St. Simon,” and the environs of “Daphne on the road to Antioch,” “Huder Beg” (a remarkable spring of water), where he had a garden, and his summer retreat at Betias.

Nearly about this time he received the visits from time to time of Captain Jones, Captain Campbell, the two brothers of Captain Lynch, and other officers attached to the Eu-phrates expedition. Much of the stores, etc.,

for that expedition were received at Souedeeyah, and stored in the warehouses at the river's mouth.

This route through Souedeeyah, as a port of arrival and transit, was preferred to that through Alexandretta on account of the salubrity of the climate, and the facility for immediate transport to Antioch by mules, and from thence at any moment to Aleppo; whereas the Alexandretta route was very unhealthy, and so unsafe that the cases for Aleppo could only be sent by large caravans of 200 mules, which required time before the muleteers could assemble the quantity of goods and animals together for a start,—always a week, sometimes a fortnight, and if by camels the transport could not be effected under three weeks in some seasons.

Since the events recorded in these pages occurred, so much has been done by General Chesney, and so much has been written by W. P. Andrew, Esq., on the feasibility and *necessity* of a railway through Mesopotamia, from sea to sea, as an alternative route to India, that it must appear superfluous and

presumptuous in us to say anything on this route. The subject in respect of its advantages appears to be exhausted. Still, forty years' experience is worth something. We can speak with truth of the many points of interest connected with the scheme; but first let us repeat what we said in our report to Her Majesty's Government, in reference to the country about the Euphrates:

"That the cultivation of grain, cotton, linseed, etc., would attain to a magnitude and extension impossible to calculate, because bad harvests are almost unknown in these parts, as there is always plenty of rain and a hot sun to ripen the crops. Populous villages would spring up all along the line (for at least 400 miles), for there is abundance of sweet water everywhere. In many places there is *running water* for irrigation, to be utilised at little or no expense,—a great want in India, where irrigation is enormously expensive; so in this respect, Mesopotamia has an immense advantage over our Indian possessions. And where there is no running water, sweet water is found at a depth of a few feet everywhere.

There are many rivers besides the Euphrates; there are the Khabour (Chaboras), the Karasou (Melas), the Billichá (Charre), with innumerable streams, their affluents, etc.

“Cereals can be grown there so cheaply that no country at the same distance from England could compete with it at all. And if Great Britain finds it necessary to rely more on the importation of foreign corn, where could a better field be found than the fertile plains of Mesopotamia, the cradle of mankind, which has all the advantages of climate, soil, sun, and water in its favour?”

And if the valley of the Euphrates and Mesopotamia be taken as a field for emigration, we can safely say there is no country under the sun which appears to us to offer the same number of advantages. It is healthy, has a temperate climate, regular seasons, abundance of rain, plenty of sun, a fertile soil, perfect security (if a sufficient number of emigrants go out together, from the mutual support they would render each other). And as soon as any number of emigrants had established themselves, there could not be a question of

Arabs<sup>1</sup> interfering with them, for union is strength. The Arabs are trustworthy and honest, if fairly treated. There is also another great advantage in this part of the Turkish dominions—the settlers would not come into collision with rich landed proprietors (a great drawback in Turkey), for there are none; nor with conflicting religious interests, for there are none either. They would have the field open to them,—a clear stage and no opposition. And as to productions, they are marvellous! We have seen at the same moment 300 camels enter Aleppo loaded with melons, and two days afterwards a string of 300 more loaded again come in.

Irrespective of cereals, cotton, etc., it is a fine pasturage country for milk, butter, and cheese; for all the butter consumed at Aleppo, besides much that is exported, comes from this district.

sedentary Arabs of the Zor would be but too happy  
intelligent Englishmen in protecting their own  
Arabs or wandering tribes of the  
desert; and across the line of forts for fear of  
losing their valuable by rifle shots, as has been proved  
by Youssouf Pacha Sherrai-yeff, when he farmed that district  
several years.

A very erroneous idea has been formed of the climate the other side of the city of Aleppo, and on the Euphrates, by persons who have merely gone over the ground, leaving an impression on their minds that it is unhealthy. Mr. Barker's experience of more than twenty years speaks to the contrary. During many years he spent the months of July and August (the hottest months in that latitude) at Sfeeree, the partridge - shooting ground on the other side of Aleppo, towards the Euphrates; and he was always accompanied by friends and shooting companions. It was only during the hottest time of the day that the birds could be approached, and he has often assured us that no single instance of indisposition or headache ever occurred to him or any of his companions on these excursions. The water of the wells at Sfeeree is remarkably sweet, and the nights are cool and refreshing, because the whole of the Aleppo district is an elevated plateau or plain, nearly 4,000 feet above the level of the sea. Of course the same cannot be said of the whole line along the Euphrates, the

climates of which must vary; but we have been assured by Ali Pacha Sherrai-yeff, the nephew of Youssouf Pacha Sherrai-yeff, who knew the whole region about the Euphrates as far as Bussorah (and indeed was once Governor of that town), that he became stout while he superintended his uncle's affairs in the district of the Zor, which he attributed to the peculiar dryness of the air, and the remarkable sweetness of the water.

No instance has ever been recorded of sun-stroke at Sfeeree, although the heat, during the hot weather, is so great that it is necessary sometimes to cover the barrel of the gun with a wet pocket-handkerchief, in order to be able to hold it. The dryness of the atmosphere causes evaporation so rapidly that this handkerchief must be moistened every quarter of an hour at least.

Towards the south, at Moussoul and at Bagdad, the bedclothes and mattress are sometimes saturated with water, and become quite dry in about an hour's time, when the operation must be renewed. It seems this extraordinary dryness of the climate, so different

from that of India, is the cause of the country being so healthy.

In the spring of 1843, two Persian princes, Riza Koolee Mirza Khan and Timour Mirza Khan, came to Aleppo, to accompany, on her way to Mecca, their aunt, the Princess Sultana, daughter of the late Shah of Persia, Futteh Ali Shah. They were pensioners of the British Government of India, had been in England, and generally resided at Bagdad. Timour Mirza Khan, the younger, was remarkable for martial exercises and feats of arms. He shot two bustards, with a pistol, at full gallop, and we ate one of them with him at Mr. Consul Werry's table. We have seen him shoot larks on the wing with small shot, while on a gallop. He has even shot gazelles on horseback,—a feat which has never been accomplished by any other person in Syria.

This is how he managed.

As soon as he perceived the gazelles, which would be about half a mile off, he used to send his servant, on horseback, to start them by walking his horse very slowly in that direction. In the meantime he would canter his horse in nearly an

opposite direction to where he knew the gazelles would come when started. His experience told him that these animals always run against the wind, and he went in that direction. Perhaps, in his course, he might be able to take advantage of some rising ground, or hill, and keep on his course behind it, so that they should not see him.

As soon as he thought he could not get nearer, he made a signal to his servant to start them, and then he would put his horse to a gallop, and fire as they passed him, of course without pulling up, for otherwise he would lose his only chance,—two or three seconds of time, as they sped across. He was sure of hitting one of the troop, but not always sure it would be in a mortal part. He pursued the same plan for bustards, which are quite as difficult of approach as gazelles.

He would load his gun (not a rifle) with three balls, and fire at a mark a hundred yards or so off; put one ball in the target, drop another half way, and the third would be found at his feet before him.

He would place a twig, as thick as a black

lead pencil, over two tiny coffee cups placed on two bottles, and cut it in two without spilling a drop of the water he had placed in them. The twig would be about a foot and a half long. This feat was considered by the Syrians as the *ne plus ultra* of sabre skill.

Mrs. Barker invited the princess to her house, and she sat veiled, of course, because there were gentlemen. She took a fancy to one of the young married ladies, and wished to adorn her with all the jewels she was wearing. She went into the boudoir, and dressed her, in the Persian manner, with all the jewels. Of bracelets there were three pair, one of large emeralds set in diamonds, one of rubies set in diamonds, and one of very large turquoises; pearls of remarkable size and water, a girdle of rubies and diamonds, and a crown of diamonds and earrings, completed the attire. The Persian ladies wear one of the bracelets on the arm, just below the shoulder. When the toilet was completed the princess said, "Now go and let your husband see you." The young lady presented herself as a Persian, and not only her husband, but other gentlemen, profited by the sight, and were

enabled to gratify their curiosity to see the crown jewels of a Persian princess, and fancy how she would have looked in them had they been allowed to have a peep. Mr. Paton, afterwards Consul at Ragusa, and author of several works, wrote the following impromptu :—

“ Entwined with yonder raven hair,  
The royal gems of Persia lie ;  
But who their lustre can compare  
To the sparkling of a Grecian eye ? ”

“ Iran’s gems to the Grecian fair  
May a fleeting charm impart ;  
But pearls of costlier price are there,—  
The virtues of an English heart.”

The princess wished much to see an European quadrille and waltz, which, coming from Persia, she had never seen ; and her wish was gratified. The princess was extremely affable, pretty, and well instructed in Persian lore, writing poetry with the greatest facility ; about twenty-one years of age. Her nephews were much older than she was, and the wife of the eldest was also much older than the princess.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Cultivation of Silk and Fruits.—The Stanwick Nectarine.—Mr. Barker revisits England.—And the Viceroy after Ten Years.—Dr. Lindley.—Hartwell House.—Return to Syria.—Mohammedan Religious Ideas.—Schoolmaster's Testimony.—Reemee Gazelles.—The Gentleman Gipsy.—Dervish on the Jet.

SINCE his return to Syria, Mr. Barker had further improved the quality of the silk in the districts of his neighbourhood, Antioch and Souedeeyah, and of all the mountains near Latakia and Tripoli, by procuring, every year, fresh silkworm seed from France and Italy, and engaging his neighbours to pay more attention to the cultivation of silk, on the European method of Count Dandolo. The climate of north Syria is extremely well adapted for the cultivation of silk when proper precautions are taken, and good healthy silkworm seed (eggs) is used. Silk has been produced at Souedeeyah equal in fineness of texture to any in Europe. The climate of Mount Lebanon is too hot, and the cocoons tend to become coarse from the

circumstance of the worms being brought up in the open air. The worms become much larger than ordinary worms, and the silk threads coarser.

He had also procured many varieties of the finest fruits from Europe, and compared them with varieties of the same sorts which he collected from Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia,—principally peaches and apricots; and he discovered some of a very superior flavour, notably several peaches with a sweet kernel, wholly free from the prussic acid which the fruit with a bitter kernel more or less contains. He had sent a nectarine with a sweet kernel to Lord Prudhoe (afterwards Duke of Northumberland), which made some noise in the world of fruits, and received through His Grace's intervention a medal from the Royal Horticultural Society of Chiswick. This nectarine was called the “Stanwick Nectarine.” His lordship sold the tree for £300, and bestowed the money on the “Fund for Decayed Gardeners.”

Persuaded by the “inestimable qualities” of these sweet-kernelled fruits, Mr. Barker resolved on visiting England in order to see how he could

carry out his plan of introducing them into his native land. Having prepared a number of trees, budded with some of the best varieties, he went to Beyrouth, and embarking there on board the Austrian steamer, on the 31st December, 1843, arrived at Alexandria on the 2nd January, 1844.

Here he went to pay his respects to the Viceroy, but found that ten years had made a great change ! “ Heu Mihi ! how altered from that Hector ! ” He had become quite childish. The great mind which had inaugurated such reforms in Egypt, and had accomplished such great things, had collapsed ! The man “ who never had a master ” was now led like a child ! He found him in a country house on the Mahmoudieh Canal, wearing on his head a “ fez,” or red cap, which quite altered his features, for he had always seen him wearing a turban when he left Alexandria in 1833.

From Alexandria he went to Smyrna, and after performing quarantine there and paying a visit to his friends, he took passage to Trieste. From thence he went to Venice and Milan where he visited the nurserymen he had been

in correspondence with. They urged him very much to bring his trees to them, and they would cultivate them, as offering a fairer chance of introducing the varieties he meditated into Europe through the milder climate of Milan, a kind of half-way house, than the colder one of England. But his patriotism would not allow him to give to any other country than his own the "inestimable boon" of such fruit, and he thus lost the only chance of acclimatising them with success, and an opportunity which could never be recovered.

From Milan he went to Genoa, and there embarked for Marseilles, and then on to London through Paris, arriving there on the 31st March, 1844, where he met with a hearty welcome from all his old friends.

He called at the Horticultural Society's offices, Regent Street, and there saw Dr. Lindley, who approved of the trees he had brought with him, having been put into pots and kept out of the sun. He "agreed to his proposals respecting the use of the Royal Horticultural Society's walls for fruiting his peaches and apricots, and added that he might

consider the grafted trees as his own property ; " to which he objected, saying that all he required was " that the first-fruits of each sort should be placed at his disposal, in order that Her Majesty the Queen might be the first to taste them." Dr. Lindley told him that Colonel Chesney had informed him of a very fine white mulberry that he had eaten at Souedeeyah. Mr. Barker said " that he had already taken measures to procure a superior variety from Armenia, and would send him some of the seed."

He went to see his second cousin, Dr. Alfred Barker, his only relation in London, " younger son of Thomas Barker, and whose elder brother resides at Bakewell."

He attended one of Dr. Lindley's lectures, presiding at a fruit and flower show ; there were two plates, one with nine ripe peaches, and the other very fine cherries of one of Mr. Barker's sorts in Huder Beg. The Doctor opened the meeting by, as he said, " the most interesting object, the peaches," reading a letter from the grower, a gentleman in Gloucestershire, giving an account of the means he had employed in forcing these nine peaches so as to bring them

to a ripe state on the 16th April, and finished by expressing his conviction that he would next spring produce his peaches on the 1st March. The next exotic described was a “*Citrus Medica*;” smell and colour and rind of the sour lemon, form very nearly spherical, size of the “*Abou sursa*,” of which he had given Dr. Lindley one in a pot.

The next day Dr. Lindley wrote him a letter of thanks for the Persian melon seeds and seed of the “hedge asparagus.” He was very anxious to procure all the acorns of Caramania and Syria, and particularly of the beautiful oak of Betias, of which Mr. Baker had sent him some acorns three years before.

On the 19th April Mr. Barker set out with his two sons by rail for Aylesbury, forty-three miles, arriving in three hours. Doctor Lee sent his carriage to meet them, and conveyed them to Hartwell House. Mr. Barker, in his diary, describes this old mansion : the identical apartment which each of the royal family of Louis XVIII. of France had inhabited, and the bed in which the Queen died. He saw the Duchesse d'Angouleme's “*Priedieu*,” and many

bundles of printed proclamations which had been left behind. Doctor Lee also took them down through two trap doors to see the foundations of his observatory, and caused them to write their names on the bricks, on which were cut the names of all his friends. In the evening their circle was augmented by the arrival of Mr. Dupuis, British Consul at Tripoli, in Barbary. Sir Henry Ellis also dined with them, and then left for town.

The third morning after their arrival at Hartwell, Mr. Barker took a walk in the park, and a swan came out of a pond to attack him, but he fortunately avoided the encounter. Soon after, Mr. Dupuis, passing that way, was not so fortunate ; the swan attacked him and injured his knee so much that he was obliged to keep his bed a week, and felt the blow he had received from the wing of the bird many months afterwards.

*Written in the room of Mademoiselle Choissé, in Hartwell House.*

“ Hartwell nous conserva la royale famille.  
Qu’entourent nos respects, nos vœux et notre amour,  
Le Roi cher à nos coeurs, son adorable Fille,  
Ensemble ont habité cet auguste séjour.

Combien pour les Français cet asyle a des charmes !  
Il nous rappele aussi nos maux et nos alarmes,  
Et je me sens frappé de cruels souvenirs,  
Ils étaient sept, hélas . . . Mais essuyons nos larmes—  
Nous en avons cinq à cherir.

LE COMTE DE MARCELLAY,  
*Membre de la Chambre des Députés.*

HARTWELL, 19th May, 1822.

At the Numismatic Society he was introduced by Doctor Lee to Dr. Pratt of Doctors Commons, Mr. Burn, Mr. Cullimore, and Mr. Birch of the British Museum. At the Royal Academy he was presented to Lord Northampton the President, and Mr. Phillips the artist, who gave him his card, No. 8, Grosvenor Street, Hanover Square. Going upstairs he saw the identical mace which Cromwell had called "that bauble." He says, "It is of silver gilt, richly carved, four feet long, and so heavy that a man could with difficulty hold it at arm's length. He met also Captain Smyth the astronomer, who said to him, "Twenty years ago, I used to hear of 'Old Barker of Aleppo,' and I expected to see a man bent double by age, but you are not so at all."

He called on his very old friend Sir Moses

Montefiore in Park Lane, and was very cordially received by him and his lady, who gave him a copy of her printed but not published "Travels in Egypt and Syria;" and he promised Sir Moses in return a pamphlet entitled "The Story of Kutchuk Ali." But his visit to London was suddenly arrested and curtailed by the threat of an action against him for having imprisoned the supercargo and master of the *Symmetry*, of which we have already spoken,<sup>1</sup> and he left suddenly for Boulogne, Paris, and Marseilles. He knew that if he remained in England he would be subjected to much expense and annoyance, and compelled to remain against his will, as long as the spite these men had against him should last; and he wished to get back to his garden in Syria—his "little Paradise," as he called it. He therefore made arrangements for hiring a garden with walls for fruit trees somewhere near Fulham, and went off to Marseilles, and embarking there for Cyprus and Beyrouth, arrived at this latter town on the 1st July and at Souedeeyah on the 6th July, 1844.

He spent the month of August in his garden,

<sup>1</sup> *Vide Vol. II., p. 180.*

budding trees for England, that being the only good season for this operation in Syria; and having accomplished this work, he went to join his family at Aleppo, and passed the winter there.

He had occasion to pay a visit to a Mohammedan named Shaykh Mohammed ib'n Haji Moossa, on some business connected with his house; and the conversation between him and Mr. Barker will illustrate the difference of ideas between Mohammedans and Europeans, which is frequently a source of misunderstanding, and accounts for the former's reserve and sometimes refusal to associate with the latter. They *think* differently; that is, the constitution of their minds, formed on their education, being dissimilar, they do not understand one another; and yet the leading features of morality are the same as the Christian, for almost all the moral precepts to be found in the Koran are taken from the Five Books of Moses, and therefore the dissimilarity is more in ideas than in practice.

This Shaykh was a man of known strict religious principles and consequent sanctity.

Mr. Barker happened to mention the name of a person who had farmed the tithes of the Government; the Shaykh took hold of the edge of his mantle, and shook it in token of repudiation and even of horror.<sup>1</sup>

“How?” said Mr. Barker. “What objection have you to such an one?”

“Why? He will be one of the last to come out of hell.”

“In what way?”

“In this way. When the great Archangel will sound the trumpet at the Last Day, the Day of Judgment, he will cry, ‘Who has remained still in hell?’ And another archangel will answer, ‘The last who are here, and who are to be tormented longer than others, are the custom-house officers, the public weighers, and the farmers of the tithes.’”

“Explain to me,” said Mr. Barker; “why should the custom-house officers be more punished than others?”

“Because they bind themselves to act un-

<sup>1</sup> In the East this gesture means that the person making it has no connexion with, nor participation in, the person or thing spoken of.

justly by taking money from persons without giving them any return.”

“And the public weighers?

“Because they weigh always in favour of their employers, and therefore against their consciences; and this is a great sin against men.”

“Now for the farmers of the tithes: these cannot be as sinful as the other two.”

“Oh! these are the worst of all! They pay money in anticipation of God’s harvests before He gives them to us. They overrule His providence; they fix the sum to be taken as tithes before they know what God will grant; and if He should not give as much, they *must* act unjustly to the public by taking more than what God gives. Don’t you see that they sin against God?”

Criminals who die a violent death are considered “martyrs,” and beautiful gilt epitaphs are engraved on their tombstones, because it is thought they have expiated their crimes by their death; for according to the Koran eternal punishment is repugnant to the idea Mohammed entertained of the Creator. Cutting bread

with a knife is a sin, “for how shall we lift up a sword against the blessing of God ? ”

A schoolmaster’s testimony is not valid in a Mohammedan court of law, because it is believed that he must have been mad before he undertook to teach children, or the children must have driven him crazy by the noise they made repeating their lessons aloud all at the same time.

Some of his Latakia friends came to Aleppo, and he went to Sfeeree, the great partridge-shooting ground, on the edge of the desert. He did not shoot, but he enjoyed the trip, and the reminiscence of many shooting parties he had enjoyed there, and caused so many others to enjoy. Here they brought him some gazelles of the kind called “Reemee,”—the perfection of venison. There is a tribe of Arabs who have no cattle of any kind, and consequently, having no property whatever, are not molested by their neighbours, and live in peace. Their sole business is rearing white asses, and their food consists entirely of gazelle meat ; and this is how they take this antelope.

During the summer months, when these

animals come up from the south of Arabia in numerous herds,— thousands together,— the whole tribe go out to hunt. They gather stones, and build a low wall two miles long in the shape of a semicircle. This wall is just high enough to prevent the gazelles jumping over it. In the middle of the semi-circle they break it down a little, but not entirely; and on the other side they excavate a pit as large as they can make it. When everything is ready the whole tribe go out, and stretching away in the plains, drive the gazelles into the semicircle. The animals come to the wall and run along it, and when they come to the broken place in the wall the leader jumps over, and then every one of the herd follows his example. Here there are men ready, who slaughter them, skin them, and salt the meat, which is then dried in the hot sun for the winter's provision. This tribe has no other means of subsistence than this hunt, which never fails them, because there are thousands of herds, and the gazelles cannot possibly escape.

We cannot refrain from relating an incident

mentioned by Mr. Barker in one of his letters to Lady Hester Stanhope, which happened here at Sfeeree, and we give it in his own words.

Speaking of a young man Lady Hester had sent to England on business, to whom Mr. Coutts had given a gold watch, he says:—

“No wonder that with Mr. Coutts’ gold watch in his pocket he esteemed himself of too noble a race to be a servant. When shooting I made use of a gipsy to pick up my game. Being one day in good humour with him, and with myself, I ordered him to be dressed decently from head to foot; but I had soon reason to repent of my folly; *he* immediately also *set up for a gentleman*, like your servant, and refused to serve me any more in his old capacity. I let him alone till he was again barefooted and ragged, and he now runs and serves me like a dog.”

In the spring he returned to Souedeeyah, and was now entirely absorbed by his gardening occupations; in the summer his family joined him, and went up to Betias, where they usually spent the summer. He had the figure of a Dervish made in Paris,

which was placed on the jet of water, and which kept turning round exactly as the Dervishes do. The chief of all the Dervishes of Aleppo, commonly called "The Dada," came to Betias on a visit to Mr. Barker, and was delighted at the sight of this figure, which was dressed in cloth, and took pains in showing Mr. Barker how the arms should be placed, and other particulars; the fame of the "extraordinary Dervish" being thus spread far and near, people came from afar to see it, and for many years it turned round on the jet during the summer months. The Dada's name was Abd il Ghunnee Effendee. Mr. Barker had also a number of gold fish in the basin under the jet, that is, around it; but they became so *fat* from the quality of this beautifully clear and cold spring, that they died when they could no longer swim but roll in the water, and Mr. Barker was always obliged to breed them in a separate pond for replenishing the large basin (called in Arabic "Burkay").

In order to be able to get to the jet, and change the nozzle of the ajutage, he had a

little boat made, and the young ladies were fond of getting in and rowing about. But one day it happened that the boat was pushed by some accident under the jet, and stuck fast there; and the two young ladies remained under the cold shower-bath for some time before they could be extricated from their disagreeable situation. Their Oriental dresses—pink, blue, and green—were completely spoiled, and the next day one of them had the fever from the great chill she experienced in a thin silk dress.

## CHAPTER XV.

Silk Reeling.—A Silk Factory established.—Cause of Disease in the Worms.—Doctor and Mrs. Yates.—Patriotic Expressions on Her Majesty's Birthday.—The “Boy Jones.”—The Cholera again.—Successful Method of Treatment.—History of the Protestant Movement at Souedeeyah.—Dr. Yates' Mission Schools.—Mr. Barker's Death.—Monument erected over his Grave at Betias.—Confidence inspired by his Character for Integrity and Good Faith.

IN the summer of 1846 one of Mr. Barker's sons turned his attention to reeling silk in the European way, in which he succeeded very well, so finding the men well able to reel it fine, Mr. Barker resolved to set up a reeling factory. In the following year he was joined by two other English gentlemen in this project, and one of his sons went to France and Italy, purchased machinery, and brought out a Belgian engineer, and the factory was built; but the disease in the silkworms compelled them to abandon the speculation. This disease originated in Syria (and probably in Europe also) in this way. The Frenchmen who came to Syria, and to every

place in the Levant, to purchase cocoons to feed the French mills, stifled the worms in them by putting them into ovens heated to 200° and more during twenty minutes; they then dried the cocoons, that is, the worms inside them, and, after thirty or forty days, pressed them into bales and sent them to France. But some of the cocoons were of so thick a texture of silk that the worms resisted the great heat of the ovens, and did not die, afterwards becoming moths. The proprietors of these cocoons, in order not to lose the money they had paid (for the moths had cut through the cocoons in liberating themselves), allowed them to lay eggs, and of course the worms from these eggs the following year had the seeds of the disease in them. The parent moths had come out of the ovens with half their feathers,—in fact, they had been parboiled; and the eggs sold to proprietors became the mediums of propagating the disease. There was also another evil attendant on the sale of the cocoons to the Frenchmen, which caused the disease. In the great hurry of purchasing cocoons, which can only be done during ten or eighteen days, the cocoons

reserved for seed were left piled up over one another, and became heated, and some of the moths came out of the cocoons without feathers, like those which had been in the ovens, but not to the same extent.

On the 1st November, 1846, Doctor Holt Yates and his lady arrived at Souedeeyah, and, during the winter, built a house and planted trees and shrubs around it, on a spot elevated above the plain, and where running water passed on to a mill. This land the Doctor bought was called the "Rowacy;" it commanded a good view of the sea, and was in every respect an eligible situation. The doctor had come for his wife's health, which improved considerably.

In May 1847 Her Majesty's Consul-General Colonel Rose (now Lord Strathnairn) arrived in the brig-of-war *Harlequin*, Captain Moore, and after visiting Souedeeyah and Daphne, went on to Aleppo accompanied by Captain Moore. On the 24th, Her Majesty's birthday, Mr. Barker, with his family, and Dr. and Mrs. Yates, went on board, and were received with much urbanity by the First Lieutenant, Mr. Luckraft, and the other officers, Hudson,

Greathead, Campbell, etc., and the sailors hailed them, as they came on board, with "The flag that's braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze," sung by all in chorus. The ladies danced quadrilles, and some of the seamen acted harlequin and clown in grotesque dresses, and sang comic songs—with a great deal of humour and effect. The day was passed in patriotic sentiment and in friendly intercourse. Mr. Barker and his party had an opportunity, when the grog was served on deck, of seeing the "Boy Jones," who happened to be on board,—and a very sulky boy he looked.

In August of the same year the party at Souedeeyah was enlivened by the arrival of Her Majesty's ship *Spartan*, a jackass frigate, commanded by Captain Symonds; and a Prussian engineer, Dr. Charles Zimpel, travelling for his health. Dr. Yates' house being now completed, there was a great house-warming, and much glee and merriment occasioned by the happy circumstance of the visit of the English ship. There was a young lieutenant on board named Molyneaux, a very promising.

fine young man, one of eighteen children, who created quite a sensation at Souedeeyah by his amiable deportment; and we had the pain to hear, some time afterwards, of his death.

In the summer of the following year, 1848, the cholera, which had broken out simultaneously in all the towns of Egypt, Syria, Constantinople, Malta, and Trieste, visited Souedeeyah. Captain Fraser, a young artillery officer on his travels, passing through Antioch, caught the disease, and coming to Souedeeyah, pitched his tent near Mr. Barker's house. He had not a letter of introduction, but his being an Englishman, and sick, was a sufficient one. Mr. Barker had him carried to his house, and Mrs. Barker nursed him herself; for his two servants refused to attend to his wants, and even to go into his room, when they found he had the cholera. Dr. Yates attended him, but all in vain ; he sank rapidly, and was buried in the churchyard of the Greek church, the priests officiating. A monument was subsequently erected over his grave by his relations, who sent it out from England.

This time the cholera was more virulent

than usual, carrying off as many as 500 persons in one day at Aleppo. Mr. Barker had a good opportunity of testing the efficacy of his newly discovered remedy, bleeding, and found it never-failing when resorted to in time. But before he had discovered this method of treatment, he thought the safest plan to avoid the danger, until some panacea could be found, was to get out of the sphere of its influence ; and he therefore set sail, with all his family, for Latakia. He found there many of his friends, who had come from Aleppo, flying also from the pestilence. He spent a month at Latakia, and then, hearing the disorder had ceased, for it never continues in the same place more than from thirty-five to forty days, he returned to Soue-deeyah.

On his return he found the method of treatment by blood-letting from the instep, after placing the legs and feet in *hot* water and salt, had been most successful. This mode is founded upon true principle, for it is well known amongst medical men that the immediate cause of death in cholera is the separation of the serum, or saline portion of the blood, from the fibrine.

The former being discharged by watery evacuations, the fibrine alone remains, a coagulated mass of the consistence of tar, in the veins. The London papers at the same date related the case of a young woman who had apparently succumbed to cholera, having been restored to consciousness and life by Mr. Morse, a surgeon in Kennington Lane, who drew three or four ounces of blood from her arm. As long as there is breath in the body it must not be considered too late to adopt this remedy.

Mr. Barker was so convinced of the reality of the "infallible cure for the cholera," that in a letter to his son he writes :—

" So strongly am I impressed with the invaluable benefit I should be conferring on my fellow creatures were I personally to become a missionary for the propagation of the belief in the efficacy of bleeding for the sure and certain hope of salvation to all who may be afflicted with this dreadful disease, I would next month set out on my mission and travel towards the places infected between this and the capital, were it not for the great pain and anxiety I should inflict on your dear mother by my absence."

In a letter Mr. Barker received from Alexandria, dated 22nd August, 1848, he was informed that Ibraheem Pacha, accompanied by his Court, had left for Rhodes, and that at the fair of Tantah, where 250,000 people were assembled, the dead were carried off by camel loads at a time.

Mr. Barker relates the case of a Jew of Antioch who had gone to Betias with his family and remained there two months in the hope of escaping the cholera, who returned to his house at Antioch believing the epidemic to have ceased, and died four days after in eight hours.

The following is the history of the Protestant movement and of the "Yates Mission Schools" at Souedeeyah and its vicinity. This is how it was brought about.

In the year 1835, when the Euphrates expedition arrived at Souedeeyah and formed a camp at the mouth of the river Orontes, it originated through an Armenian of the village of Kessub. This village is situated between Souedeeyah and Latakia, nearly at the top of the great conical mountain Casius, now called Gebel Akra,

or the Bald Mountain. This man, whose name was Moksee Hama, came down to consult the English medical man attached to the expedition about his child's eyes, in which a cataract was forming, and he received some religious tracts in the Armenian language, given him by Mr. Rassam, the interpreter to the expedition, who afterwards became British Vice-Consul at Moussoul. These tracts "opened his eyes," as he expressed it, and led him to see some glimpses of the truth, and engaged him to apply to an American missionary, who happened to be passing through his village coming from Latakia, for there was not then any mission in those parts. From him he procured a Bible in the Armenian or Turkish language, and he and some of his relations began to "search the Scriptures." Not able to read himself, he had his daughter and son taught to read, in order to be instructed in the very words of the text; and in process of time a great number of persons in his village were converted to Protestantism, or rather, were taught Gospel truth, of which they had never heard, for the Armenian service is read in a language unknown to the people;

but not without much opposition and persecution from the priests and elders and the Turkish authorities at Antioch, who were incited by the priests to stifle the movement in the bud.

Moksee Hama resisted manfully all attempts to induce him to act against his conscientious convictions, and all intimidation ; and when pressed very hard, came down to us at Souedee-yah, and by our assistance a firman was procured from Constantinople for him and his friends, recognising that he and they had the right to form themselves into a community separate from the Old Armenians. And thus their worship in public was *legalized*, so that the others, their fellow villagers, could no longer lay upon them vexatious pecuniary contributions on pretence of their being Government taxes ; for by this firman they were permitted to elect their own elders for the purpose of levying the taxes due to the Government. When this point was well established (not without great difficulty), the other villagers, when they perceived that following the dictates of their awakened consciences did not entail upon them punishment and loss, joined the movement ; and in process of time

their example was followed by other Armenian villages on the other side of the valley of the Orontes, in Mount Pieria; first Betias, then Habablee-yay, and then Yeghon-olok, and Kabousee-yay.

Here we have, first, the opportune arrival of a person with tracts in the Armenian language; secondly, the casual passage of a missionary who had a Bible in the same language; thirdly, that the seed sown should have been sown in the heart of a remarkably upright and persevering man; fourthly, the circumstance of our being at Souedeeyah, willing and able to procure a firman. All these events worked together to the advancement and dissemination of God's Word, and they ought to be to us an example to stimulate our exertions in the cause of missionary labour, knowing that if we sow God will give the increase.

No move had as yet been made among the Christians of the Greek Church, nor among the Mohammedans and Ansairee. It was reserved for Doctor Holt Yates and Mrs. Yates to do that, in 1846, eleven years after the arrival of the expedition. The good Doctor had come for

his wife's health to Soudeeyah, the climate being remarkably mild and soft, peculiarly suited to delicate lungs and persons subject to affections of the chest and throat, and his lady soon recovered. First, they had to build a house for themselves, learn the language of the country, and acquire a certain experience in the valley of the Orontes and Antioch, which residence alone could give. Then they found they had many difficulties to contend with in the establishment of mission schools; but when they saw their way clear they set about it in earnest, and opened schools for children of all classes and creeds. At first the work progressed very slowly, owing to the secret opposition of the Greek priests and elders; for the same reason that determined opposition was made by the Armenian priests and elders—because, as the number of their flocks decreased, they lost a proportionate amount of revenue. All opposition, however, was vain. They could not prevail against the truth, nor against the firman of the Sultan's Government at Constantinople, which had established a *precedent*; and now there is a flourishing colony of Protestants from

among the Greeks, Mohammedans, and Ansairee. They have now native pastors and teachers, under the superintendence of the worthy and indefatigable American missionaries, and this colony bids fair to become the most important in Syria; and when this beautiful valley of the Orontes will be the great highway to India—which *must* one day be, for it is the shortest and best route, as it was of old—a friendly community of Protestants will meet the British pioneers and join heartily in the work.

The purifying and regenerating influences of the Gospel have, till now, been stifled by forms and superstitions, and a hardening and demoralizing influence has been fostered by the materialistic example of Mohammedanism and the equally debasing influence of an idolatrous Christianity. But a gleam of hope has shone: on looking back to what has already been done, there is every prospect of complete success when education in the simple and vivifying truths of the Gospel, leading to principles of action (not to a dead religion), is gratuitously offered to the poor benighted natives through the liberal contributions of a British public.

We are compelled, however, to bring the narrative of Mr. Barker's life to a close, and to record the death of the Consul-General by an attack of apoplexy at Betias, on the 5th October, 1849, at the age of seventy-eight years and seven months. He rode up the mountain, quite alone, three days before his death, and ate a hearty dinner an hour before the attack came on. A medical man was sent for from Antioch, but he came too late, as he had four hours to ride.

Mr. Barker had frequently expressed a wish to be buried in a particular spot close to the wall of the Armenian church at Betias, and there accordingly a vault was built and his body was laid. Two years afterwards, a handsome marble monument, procured from Genoa, was placed over the vault, and a suitable inscription was cut on the slab.

But here we erect a monument to his memory far more durable than either marble or bronze, or the partial mausoleums which affection could bestow or even a grateful country could vote. Here he lives again in his own words, in his own sentiments,—the true-hearted, honest, straightforward old English gentleman,

whose nature long residence in a foreign barbarous country could not change from its sterling worth, and only added the polish and ease of a "citizen of the world."

It may perhaps not be considered misplaced here to observe that during fifty years of a life of usefulness spent in Syria and Egypt Mr. Barker upheld by his own character the reputation for fair-dealing and integrity of Englishmen which he found generally prevailed when he arrived, and contributed to increase the confidence of the people in British liberal payments by his open-handed hospitality; so that when the war with Russia broke out in 1854, hundreds of Syrians and Koords were ready and eager to enroll themselves under the British flag; so much so that the supply was infinitely greater than the demand, and hundreds were rejected, being much more than the number contemplated by the War Office and the Commissariat.

## CHAPTER XVI.

How Revolts are got up in Turkey.—Hadjee Youssouf Bey plots against the Janissaries.—Abdallah Bey Babilsee falls into the Trap.—The Rabble pillage the Churches, and attack the Barracks.—Defeat of the Insurgents.—The Porte sends Kuprislee Mohammed Pacha to settle the “claims.”—Church Plate carried off by Zeref Pacha.—Census and Revenue of the Aleppo District in 1850.—Arrival of General Chesney and Sir John Macneil.—The Pacha’s Dilemma.—They visit the Euphrates.—An Escort of Irregulars.—The Castle at Aleppo.—Tradition of the Patriarch Abraham.

WE have now to record the last revolt at Aleppo, which broke out the 16th October, 1850, and ceased the 9th November, lasting twenty-four days; and this narrative will serve as an illustration how “revolts” are got up in Turkey.

The reason put forward by the rebels was the severity attendant on the military conscription, but the real one was quite another. As usual, rival chiefs were at the bottom of the insurrection. I have already spoken of the two factions at Aleppo, the Shereefs or nobles, and

the Janissaries or townspeople. The latter had been proscribed and dispersed in 1812 and 1820, but the party was by no means broken. Thirty years had elapsed, and during that time the hydraheaded monster had recovered from its wounds. Those of the Janissaries who had survived, returned to Aleppo, and had recovered the greater part of their property, and *all* their influence, which lay with the tradespeople class.

Abdallah Bey Babilsee had always been the recognised head of this party; he had been a butcher's lad, and now, although virtually Mayor of the city, affected to wear a common sheep-skin jacket, such as is worn by butchers and grocers at Aleppo. He had at one time been one of Mr. Barker's Janissaries, and frequently referred in conversation to the time "when he stood at the great Consul-General's door with a long silver stick in his hand." "I shall never forget," he used to say, "that I have eaten his bread." As he was an illiterate man, and consequently innocuous in a political sense, he had been chosen by the Egyptian Government to fill the post of Mutzeleem, or Mayor of the

city.<sup>1</sup> On the departure of the Egyptians the Sultan's Government had continued him in office on account of his influence and connexion with the tradespeople, and the sedentary Arabs and the people of the villages around Aleppo, who were all more or less "in partnership," as it is called by them, with the tradespeople, on whom they reckoned for the sale of the produce of their farms. Seventeen years passed in office had enabled him to become very rich, more for his party than for himself; and this drew on him the jealous hostility of the other party, his enemies.

The head of this party at this time was Hadjee Youssouf Bey Sherrai-yeff Zada, who had also become very rich, and whose interests clashed at every step with those of Abdallah Bey and the Janissaries, particularly in the purchase of landed property in houses and land near the villages. Following up the usual Oriental programme, Abdallah Bey must be got rid of, and his destruction was therefore resolved upon. But how could this be effected? The times had changed: assassination, open or

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. II., ch. x., p. 188.

secret, would *now* entail on him a prolonged trial at Constantinople, where he would hardly get off with paying half what he was worth. This would not do at all. He resolved on getting up a revolution, in which Abdallah Bey's stupidity would no doubt cause him to fall into some clever trap that would be laid for him, and which it would be difficult for him to avoid, as his recognised position of chief of the turbulent masses would be an accusation against him ; and he reckoned also on Abdallah's not being able to control these masses,—and in this he was not mistaken.

Following up this plan, he sent secret confidential emissaries to Abdallah Bey, with a long list of pretended wrongs against the rule of the Pacha (Zereef Mustapha Pacha), declaring that he and his party were ready to join in overturning the Government, and that this was a good opportunity, as there were very few soldiers in Aleppo. "His party and he," said he, "being Shereefs, had no arms, but they would secretly support the insurrection, and by not appearing to take part in it, would be able to act the part of mediators afterwards between

the Janissaries and the Porte, as was usual in such cases ; " a precedent long established through years of feeble misrule. It happened that shortly before, news had come from Damascus of an insurrection or disturbances on account of the conscription, and all Aleppo was talking of this subject, which Youssouf Bey eagerly seized on ; and Abdallah Bey and his party, ever ready to revolt, were easily induced to fall into the snare.

Emissaries were sent by them to all the villages in the neighbourhood to collect the rabble, who mostly live under tents in their outskirts, holding out to them the inducement of plunder. About 2,000 came on the 16th October to Bab il Narub, the gate which looks to the east, in the Quarter inhabited by camel drivers, muleteers, and such folk. These men were the lowest of the low, gipsies, and Arabs who had been expelled from their tribes for crimes committed. Uniting with the roughs in the city, in number about 10,000 or 12,000, they proceeded to the Christian Quarter Jedai-deh, pillaged the houses, robbed some churches, wounded a few Christians who attempted to

defend their property, but did not kill any one.<sup>1</sup>

The Governor of the city, Zereeef Mustapha Pacha, shut himself up at Shaykh Yebrak, the barracks outside the city. General Bem (Mourad Pacha) and General K'mety (Ismaeel Pacha), with a few Hungarian refugee officers, offered to put themselves at the head of the few troops the Pacha had, and reduce the people to submission. Mr. Edmond de Lesseps, cousin of Mr. Ferdinand de Lesseps, of Suez Canal fame, who was at the time French Consul at Aleppo, protested in the name of the whole consular corps against so desperate and rash an act, fearing the dreadful consequences of failure, which was to be expected with so small a military force. The Consul endeavoured to act as mediator between the Pacha and the insurgents, and keep the matter *in statu quo* until reinforcements of troops could arrive, for which

<sup>1</sup> Considering the lawless character of this large mob of ruffians, and the total absence of any resisting force, it must be a matter of surprise that no one was killed. This fact shows clearly there was no so-called "fanaticism," or animosity against the Christians.

messengers had been secretly sent in all directions. The remainder of the month of October and the first days in November were passed in false alarms and a state of great anxiety; all the Christian population being lodged and fed in the khans, and in the houses of the consular corps.

While this was going on, Hadjee Youssouf Bey Sherrai-yeff shut himself up in his harem, pretending to be ill. Abdallah Bey, pressed by the Consuls, declared he would restore order if they, the Consuls, would guarantee an amnesty. But the next morning the body of a soldier was seen hanging from the top of a minaret, and the Pacha, infuriated, insisted on the perpetrators of this murder being given up. This Abdallah Bey was unable or unwilling to do; the Pacha, on pretence of proposing a new combination of arrangement, treacherously (as is always done by Pachas), caused Abdallah Bey and five other chiefs of the Janissaries to be seized and put in irons.

As soon as the news spread that their chiefs were imprisoned, the insurgents, who had pil-

laged the Government arsenal, and taken all the arms they found there, attacked the barracks, but were repulsed by the cannons of the artillery, directed by the Hungarian officers and Hussein Pacha, who had arrived with reinforcements. During two days the victory was undecided; but on the third, regular troops prevailed against an undisciplined rabble, and they were driven back on their quarters, Kurlek, Bankousa, and Bab il Narub, and completely routed. The next morning they had all disappeared as if by magic. Kurlek was pillaged, and some shops and small houses were burnt by the soldiers. Order was restored on the 8th and 9th November. As the fighting had been principally in the streets and behind walls, very few were killed, but more wounded from splinters and the tumbling down of walls.

Abdallah Bey was sent to Constantinople,—where, however, he never arrived alive; he died on the road, as he might have made unpleasant revelations. Youssouf Bey was appointed Mutzeleem, or Mayor of the city, in his place; but shortly afterwards, when an

officer came from the part of the Sultan Abd il Megeed to investigate this matter, and 4,000 persons<sup>1</sup> who were proved to have been concerned in the pillage of the churches, were exiled to Candia and Cyprus, he was called to Constantinople, where he managed to play his cards so well that he was created Hon. Pacha of Two Tails, that is, General of Division, for the services he had rendered the Porte, etc., etc., and he returned to Aleppo with flying colours.

The Roman Catholic and Greek Powers insisted on an indemnity being paid by the Porte for the pillage of the churches, which would have to be exacted from the culprits. Mohammed Pacha Kuprislee was sent to Aleppo to supersede Zereef Mustapha Pacha, and see to the execution of this command. He was an honest Pacha, not open to bribery; but all his efforts were directed to diminish as much as possible the claims sent in for losses, and

<sup>1</sup> An example was made, no doubt; but it was well known that several thousands more, nearly half the Mohammedan population, were mixed up more or less in the pillage of the churches.

very little was paid to the Christians; most of them received, instead of handsome new furniture taken from their homes, old worn-out mattresses and rickety chairs; instead of silver plate, narghilehs, etc., of which *all* Christian houses have generally a good supply, they received brass and copper articles; in short, very little was recovered, and the indemnity in money was clipped and clipped and trimmed till in reality scarcely anything was paid, and that little very long afterwards.

It will perhaps surprise our readers to learn that Zereef Mustapha Pacha had made good use of the opportunity before Mohammed Pacha Kuprislee arrived, and had recovered a great part of the silver plate and ornaments taken from the churches; and when he left Aleppo he took this all with him, in eight or ten cases, not one of which was ever returned to the churches at Aleppo. We cannot say whether he may not have given it up to the Government at Constantinople. It is, however, certain that no *public* inventory was taken of it at Aleppo, and that it went with him.

The following is the census of the male population of the Aleppo district in the year 1850 :—

City of Aleppo—Mohammedans . .	84,000
580 villages                  „ .	20,000
City of Aleppo—Christians . .	7,800
—Israelites                  „ .	1,800
In all other parts of the district . .	11,500
Town of Killis—Mohammedans . .	12,000
640 villages                  „ .	27,450
Town of Aintab—Mohammedans . .	13,480
350 villages                  „ .	17,800
Town of Antiab—Mohammedans . .	8,950
320 villages                  „ .	20,300
In the district of Orfa, Roomkala—	
Mohammedans, Christians, and	
Israelites                  . . . . .	82,000
Beni Sa-eed, Haddadeen, Mow-alee—	
Sedentary Arabs living under	
tents                  . . . . .	21,000
Total                  . . . . .	278,130
Latakia and its district . . . . .	45,000

The revenue at this date from the above district (with the exception of Orfa and Latakia) was, from all sources, 12,157,588 piasters, or in round numbers 24,000 purses of 500 piasters each.

The expedition under Colonel Chesney to survey the Euphrates and see whether that river was navigable for small steamers had failed as

a route to India. In 1856 the indefatigable Colonel Chesney (now become General) resolved to carry out the project which he had first suggested, and which had been the occupation of his life for so many years, by a railway from the Mediterranean Sea to the Persian Gulf; and he proceeded to Constantinople, where he obtained a firman to enable him to have the necessary preliminary surveys made.

In the beginning of the month of October 1856 the General arrived at Souedeeyah, accompanied by Sir John Macneil, a distinguished engineer, in Her Majesty's ship *Gladiator*, Captain Charles Hillyar. The difficulty seemed to be between the Mediterranean and Aleppo, on account of the great difference of level between these two points, Aleppo being on an elevated platform nearly 4,000 feet above the level of the sea; and this difficulty lay nearly half way between the plain of Antioch and Danah, at a spot called Kesr il Benäat (the Tower of Girls),<sup>1</sup> where the steepness of the ascent was so sudden that it was feared no loco-

<sup>1</sup> A ruined convent of the early Christian period, perhaps of the eighth century.

motive could go up.<sup>1</sup> Sir John and his son Mr. Telford Macneil, who came after his father had left Syria and surveyed the whole line from Souedeeyah to Aleppo, had another route pointed out to them, which they declared removed this difficulty. Another obstacle was found in the rocky nature of the land between Danah and Aleppo, a distance of thirty-two miles, too long and too expensive to be blown up. But this was found to be surmountable by taking a road round by the plains, which fortunately go round these rocky hills in the direction of Khan Tomaun, to the south of the city of Aleppo.

Mr. Werry, Consul at Aleppo, had died a year previous to General Chesney's arrival, and the author was Acting-Consul at the time. The Pacha or Civil Governor of the city and district, apprised of the General's coming, for he had received due notice from the Porte, was anxious to pay the honours due to this distinguished officer and requested us to arrange the "entry," —a matter of some importance in the East.

Accordingly, as soon as the day and hour of

<sup>1</sup> The "Fell" plan of going up hill for locomotives was not then known.

the General's approach was known by messengers sent forward, a military escort of regular troops, and a great number of irregulars, met the General nearly an hour's distance from the city, and a salute of eleven guns was fired from the castle on his entering the city. Crowds on horseback and on foot went out to see the pageant come in, and were much surprised to find very little pomp or ceremony, or affectation of it, put forth by the General himself. The tom-toms, or kettledrums, of the irregular horse, which kept up a thumping din the whole way, and the military band playing before the Consulate on his arrival, with the big drum afterwards, consoled the inhabitants for this want of Oriental ostentation.

Two or three days after the General's arrival, he intimated his intention of going to the Euphrates, and requested us to inform the Pacha that he required an escort, and that he would go the next morning. As soon as the Pacha heard this resolve he jumped up quite frightened, and said, "It is impossible: it cannot be. We are at war with the Arabs. A bird cannot fly at this moment across the Euphrates. Go," said he to

the dragoman, "and persuade him not to go ; tell him that there is great danger, and that it is as much as my head is worth if anything should happen to him. You must dissuade him." The dragoman answered, "This man is an English soldier, and is not to be deterred or appalled by any danger." "I know," said the Pacha, with a sigh, "these English are all foolhardy ; they don't know the country nor the difficulties." There was, however, nothing to be done ; the General was determined to go, and go he would. The Pacha, finding it useless to attempt to dissuade him, and fearing he might go without an escort, sent for all the officers commanding the Bachi Bazooks, or irregular troops on horseback, and remained a very long time in consultation in regard to the number of men they could bring before the morning. Some said 100, others 200, or perhaps 300 if some could be brought in from the villages, whither they had been sent to get in the taxes. After much talking, it was understood they were to send men in all directions and procure the greatest number of horsemen they could before the morning.

At six o'clock in the morning the tom-toms of the irregular horse were heard beating to quarters and then gradually approaching ; but when they did come the most that could be mustered was from 300 to 350 men, and quite a fourth were lads from twelve to sixteen years of age, mounted on horses evidently lent by the gardeners and scavengers, with long staves to represent guns. Every one was supposed to carry two days' provisions with him, and the cavalcade started for the Euphrates about seven o'clock in the morning. The General, impatient to be off, had been up since three o'clock !

The Pacha had reason to be alarmed at the General's proposal to go to the Euphrates, because it was imperative on him to send a sufficient escort with him, and he feared his inability, for he knew he had only about 500 men, irregular troops, for the service of the Government in the villages, and he ought to have had 1,500, who really figured on the roll sent to Constantinople every month, but the pay of whom was appropriated by him in the sum of 30,000 piasters (then nearly £300) per

month. This flagrant misappropriation of the Government money would be known at headquarters if the General complained of an insufficient escort, or anything happened to him on the road.

But, fortunately, there were no Bedouin Arabs on the road. A story invented and trumped up by chiefs in the town, who were interested in preventing him from sending men in that direction, the better to carry on their intrigues, and to put off getting the arrears of taxes due by the villagers on the Euphrates, who bribed these chiefs in a variety of ways for this object.

The castle of Aleppo, one of the best preserved monuments of Saracenic architecture, was visited by General Chesney. It has a moat, counterscarp, drawbridge, etc., and previous to the arrival of the Egyptians, had contained an armoury and a storeroom quite full of arrows. He saw there a very ancient cannon, probably one of the first made, formed entirely of iron rings, and which the Pacha told him he had no doubt would be presented to the British Museum by the Porte if the General, on his return to Constantinople, asked for it.

He was also shown a niche, or shrine, set apart in the mosque of the castle, dedicated to the patriarch Abraham, to which the faithful turn when they pray. There is a tradition that Abraham was the founder of this city, and the name of Aleppo, in Arabic (*Hallab il Shah-bah*, or Aleppo the Dun Cow), according to the statement of *Eb'n Shuh-nay* in his “Chronicles of Aleppo,” had its origin in a cow of a red colour belonging to the patriarch Abraham.

Travelling southwards from Ur of the Chaldees (or Orfa), the patriarch pitched his tents in this spot, and set apart the milk of this cow for the poor, the wayfarers, and strangers who passed his tent, and every evening, the time when travellers arrive, the cry was, “*Hallab il Shah-bah*” (“He has milked the dun cow”), which passed into a byword, and the place was called Hallab (Aleppo).

This is the reason generally assigned for the name, but it may also have originated from the colour of the earth in the district of Aleppo and round the city, which is of a dull red colour. The inhabitants of the country, however, scout this last interpretation, because, say they,

the word “Shah-bah” refers particularly to a dun cow, and the name, in reference to this city, is, without doubt, of the highest antiquity. They say, also, that no other derivation, or meaning, has been found for the word Hallab in any language except in Arabic, and it means “he has milked.”

A small town, a bazaar (now in ruins), and a well fifty or sixty feet deep, reached by a long flight of steps, are within the precincts and walls of the castle, which, when well provisioned, must have been able to resist a siege during many months, and indeed have been impregnable before gunpowder was invented. The heads of some arrows, which were made of copper hardened by some process, are still seen sticking in the freestone over the door, near the drawbridge.

## CHAPTER XVII.

How Pachas build Bridges.—How they manage Government Financial Affairs.—Marked Improvement in Turkey.—The Law of the Koran not antagonistic to Reforms, nor to Equality of Political Rights.—Proclamation of Mohammed Izzen Pacha in Syria.—How Shakeer Bey reconciles Christian Disputants.—The Eastern Question considered in reference to Christian Government.—Political Reasons against it.—Right of Europe to enforce Reforms in Turkey.—Solution of the Question.

THE fact of the Pacha of Aleppo taking the lion's share of the monthly pay due to the irregular soldiers was a thing well known at Aleppo, and probably, also, at Constantinople ; but every Pacha who had come to Aleppo had done the same thing, and it had become a matter of course. The high price of meat and bread have always been kept up by the cupidity of Pachas. Such things excite no sensation whatever in Turkey, and no doubt in Greece also, where much the same kind of Government exists.

Here is a similar case, which came under

our own observation, and shows how Pachas act.

The river Ko-eek, which passes through the city of Aleppo, sometimes in the spring, after the melting of the snow, overflows its banks, and one of the small stone bridges which lead into the city from the country, by being submerged year after year, had sunk, and required to be raised above the water line. The Pacha, who had just arrived, happened to be at the Consulate, returning his first visit, when the water covered the bridge, and he saw the people take off their shoes, and go through the water barefooted. We took that opportunity of begging His Excellency to give orders for the repair of this bridge.

“How,” said he, “can I do that? Last year, in the spring, the same thing occurred; an European horseman was carried off the bridge by the inundation, and was drowned, and petitions having been sent to Constantinople, orders came, and 35,000 piasters were allotted for the purpose of repairing this bridge. My predecessor expended 200 piasters in placing wooden poles and a few planks, so as to

prevent any one from falling over, while the inundation lasted, and passed the 35,000 piasters into the Government books as having been spent by him for the repairs. Can I now ask for any more money?" We then said, "Something, however, must be done; the bridge cannot be left in this state." "Well," replied the Pacha, "I have been thinking several days about this, and I'll tell you what we will do. You, as Consul, will be able to get up a subscription among the merchants, and I will give you 3,000 piasters towards the work (£30)."

Accordingly a subscription list was sent round, and was responded to with alacrity by all, both Mohammedans, Christians, Israelites, and Europeans, for every one was interested in going over dry shod. The work was begun, as soon as the waters abated, by cutting a canal through our garden to divert the water from the bridge, and get at the foundations, for it was found necessary to go down to them in rebuilding, as they had sunk. The work progressed rapidly, in spite of the tricks of the day labourers, who let the water flow into its old channel during the

night, in order to have a longer job. But watchmen were posted, and a stop put to this manœuvre.

We had expended about 30,000 piasters, but required 3,000 more to complete the work. The Pacha was solicited to come to our assistance, and give us the 3,000 he had promised us. This he refused to do ; "but," said he, "I will speak to the Muftee, and see if I cannot procure the money from the public purse for the poor; this is a charitable work, and the money could not be better spent. The Muftee, after some difficulty, paid the money, and the bridge was completed. And yet the Pacha received regularly 30,000 piasters from the pay of 1,000 irregulars, and his salary was 60,000 piasters a month, altogether equal to £800; and no doubt he had many other sources of revenue besides, which went into his private coffers. But there is also no doubt that a great part (perhaps the half) would have to be paid to his agent at Constantinople, for the Ministers there who supported him.

The first thing a Valee, or Pacha Governor, does on coming to his post is to write to

Constantinople, declaring he has found the public money-chest empty, and that he will be compelled to pay four per cent. per month interest, if not more, to carry on the public business, pay the troops, etc., etc., before he can get in the taxes, and put the farms up to auction and receive the amount. He knows that he will receive (probably has found awaiting his arrival) many bills drawn by the Government at the capital on the treasury of his new post, to a very large amount; and if he did not, under these circumstances, fence himself in by leaving a large margin for unforeseen cases, he could not carry on the public business at all. The Government at Constantinople are always at their wits' end for money to pay strictly authentic bills, which ought to be paid at the capital, but which they send with an order to be cashed to the provincial Governors to an amount generally far beyond their ability to discharge; and some of these bills cannot be paid for ten or twelve months, and when they are, four per cent. per month interest is passed to the Government account

for accommodation or discount, a part of which is received by the person lending the money, and the rest goes into the Pacha's private purse.

And yet, in spite of such abuses, a great step has been made towards regular government in Turkey, since the beginning of this century, as our readers will have perceived in recapitulating the events we have recorded. The progress made in Europe during the same period, particularly in steam power, electric telegraphy, and advance in military tactics, could not but have told on the Turks; they feel they must change the old system for the new; and as nothing prevents this from being done, except the weakness of the Governments, when a strong Government will have been established at Constantinople (the only thing needful), reforms must ensue. The obstacle lies in the pride which former military successes in times gone by has fostered, and which it does not seem possible to get over. Other nations beside the Turks have made, and still make, this mistake, without perhaps as much reason. A return to the old systems is simply impossi-

ble. The leaders of the retrograde, or “war party,” will at last be brought to see this in its proper light, and consent to assimilate the Mohammedan to the progress of the age he lives in. There is not a word in the “Cheree,” or law of the Koran, against this assimilation; on the contrary, Mohammed has expressly placed Christians in a class different from those who have no written law (that is, idolaters), who are to be exterminated unless they abjure idols; and it is the pride of commentators which has altered the meaning of the text. Being the dominant class, they have, in their ignorance, attempted to keep down the Christians by class legislation, by trampling on their political rights; and to do this, they put forward and made use of religious prejudices which have no place in the Koran itself. The consequence has been hatred and ill-will, which, however, would equally have been fostered, and elicited from political motives if no religious element existed.

In the Hatti Shereefs which have from time to time been published, the political equality of all the Sultan’s subjects has

always been set forth. It is idle to talk of this being “contrary to the Mohammedan religion.” In the “Bouyourldee,” or proclamation, issued by Mohammed Izzet Pacha, Commander-in-Chief of all Syria, dated from Beyrouth the 23 Ramadan, 1256 (Nov. 5th, 1841), the Christians are expressly therein declared to be equally with Mohammedans the partakers of the Sultan’s solicitude. Quoting a passage from the Koran, he says:—“For like unto us are they, and like them are we: therefore it behoves all to defend their women and property, the same as our women and property. Again God says, You have all a shepherd, and of every shepherd the sheep are demanded; therefore He declares it to be the will of the Sultan “that all His subjects, not only those of the Greek persuasion, but also of other Christian denominations, either residents or sojourners in the Ottoman dominions, may partake of the charity of the Porte, and may dwell in all manner of peace and happiness and tranquillity, and that all tyranny and oppression may cease in every possible way.”

Nothing more, then, is required than that a strong Government should maintain and uphold the quality of political rights in the Ottoman Empire without any distinction of creed, particularly since in many parts of the Sultan's dominions the Christians are in the majority. The sense of the rising generation would soon come insensibly into the groove, and glide along without difficulty. Here is an anecdote, for the truth of which we can vouch.

Two Greek Christians of Antioch, Youssouf Kara Youssouf, and another called Kogia Baäsh, had a violent altercation, which ended by their coming to blows, when some of their friends interfered and persuaded them to go to the Mutzeleem, who would decide the difference between them. They listened to this advice, and went together to his "konak," or office, inflamed with rage against one another. The Mutzeleem, or Governor (Shakeer Bey), ordered that they should be locked up in two separate apartments during two hours, in order, he said, that their anger against one another might be cooled. At the expiration of that time he had them brought before him, and very patiently

heard each relate his story. He then exhorted them to put into practice the precept, “To love their neighbours like themselves;” and finding they would not listen to his suggestion, he *ordered* them to be reconciled to one another, and compelled them to give a public evidence of their reconciliation by embracing one another!

Now, what would have been the march of affairs if these two, the richest Christians in Antioch, had lived under the old *regime*? The Mutzeleem would have put them both into prison, from which they would not come out until they had paid him at least 20,000 piasters (at that time equal to £300) each.<sup>1</sup> But then this event occurred after that the Egyptian Government had sown the seeds of political equality in the minds of the Syrians, and the country had returned again under the domination of the Porte. How did the Egyptian Government succeed in carrying out this programme and enforcing its execution? The Ottoman

<sup>1</sup> By the depreciation in the value of the currency. It is quite possible, also, that they might both have been decapitated, and all their wealth confiscated.

Government can do the same. What is wanted is a *strong* arm and the absence of interference interested in causing the destruction of the Empire. Treacherous counsels, under the guise of friendly advice, have served to augment the pride we have spoken of, and to bring Turkey to the verge of bankruptcy, whereas the resources of the country are inexhaustible if properly developed.

In regard to the scheme put forward by some persons of placing power in the hands of the Christians in Turkey, humanly speaking it would never do at all for Christians to be rulers, because the elements for a sound administration do not exist among them. We see how Greece, after 350 years of servile dependence under another Power, is being governed. Politically speaking, it would militate against the interests of other nations in Europe that half the inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire should fall under the direction of co-religionists of a great Power who carry out exclusiveness to the highest point that it can be carried, forming combinations of small States, supposed to be independent, but in reality suzerain, deranging

the balance of power in Europe, monopolising the trade of these little States for the benefit of this Power, since, under the cloak of religious communion, it can dictate what measures it pleases,—which, no doubt, would be exclusively for its own interests.

We are told that Mohammedans and Christians cannot live together in harmony in the same barracks. This a great mistake. There are many Christians in the Candiote regiments of the Turkish army, and in the Egyptian army. We have seen them going and coming from church. Mr. Barker's experience and our own speak to the fact that in Turkey men of different creeds live in perfect peace, and not unfrequently in relations of the closest friendly intercourse. The Mohammedan, when not worked upon by interested fanatics, is docile, amenable to reason, and conscientious. Of course he is liable to be excited when his religious instructors are all day long dinging into his ears the words “Ghiaour” and “Christian dog,” at the bottom of which is *pride*, as we said before. In general, the Turkish character does not fear comparison with that of the

Christian. In most points it is equal, and in some much superior.<sup>1</sup>

Centuries of ignorance and barbarism have made the ruling powers in Turkey look down with contempt upon the followers of the Cross.<sup>2</sup> The time is come when the religious element should no longer be allowed to enter into the domain of politics. Civilised Europe has a *right* to demand from Turkey a certain amount of order in governing countries so near its own hearths, and that all cruelties and such like barbarous abominations shall cease; and it has the *right*, also, to enforce (collectively), if necessary, reforms in this respect which are only the common principles of justice and humanity in conformity with the generally received ideas of the age we live in. A *strong* Government can easily accomplish this, and then we shall hear no more of the "Eastern Question" or of the "sick man;"—the elements of wealth which lie now infructuous would be developed, and a

<sup>1</sup> Instances have been known of great devotion of Mohammedan servants to their Christian masters.

<sup>2</sup> But has the Christianity they have seen and known been respectable?

new life and vigour be infused in the body of the State.

But all distinctions in religious belief *must* be tabooed at once, and for ever.

END OF VOL. II.



## APPENDIX A.

TRANSLATION OF THE BERAT, OR FIRMAN, REDUCED TO ONE-  
TWENTY-FIFTH OF THE ORIGINAL, SENT TO MR. BARKER ON  
HIS APPOINTMENT AS FULL CONSUL AT ALEPPO, BY WHICH  
THE SULTAN RECOGNISES HIM AS CONSUL.

**IMPERIAL SIGNATURE.**



شیوه و مکانیزم این تغییرات را در این مقاله می‌خواهیم بررسی کنیم. از این‌جا پیدا شد که  
تغییراتی که در میان این دو مکانیزم وجود داشته باشد، باید میان این دو مکانیزم  
تفاوتی داشته باشد. این تفاوت میان این دو مکانیزم را می‌توان از دو جهت مطالعه کرد:  
۱- مطالعه مکانیزم این تغییرات در میان این دو مکانیزم.  
۲- مطالعه مکانیزم این تغییرات در میان این دو مکانیزم.



"To the Kadee, and to the Beylerbeg,<sup>1</sup> and to the Sirdar<sup>2</sup> of the Janissaries, and to all the authorities. This is the Imperial command [shereef] of the Sultan: when it comes to you, you will know. The English merchants, and those persons connected with them, whether they trade or do not trade at Aleppo, are under the authority of the British Consul; and since the former Consul, Robert Abbott, is dead, and the exalted among the sect of Christians, John Barker (whose end may God in His mercy decree shall be blessed<sup>3</sup>), has been appointed to succeed him, it is our will that he should be put in his place, in accordance with the request of the British Ambassador at Constantinople. Therefore those who are in the service of the Consul, and the sons of Consuls, are not to pay Kharatch,<sup>4</sup> nor the taxes Kassabieh,<sup>5</sup> nor Mandarieh,<sup>6</sup> nor shall any customs nor indirect taxes be demanded of them, nor for his male slaves, nor for his female slaves; and in what he eats and in what he drinks no one shall interfere; nor shall the custom-house officers or other persons make any demands. And since the Consul is the representative of the Ambassador, he shall not be put into prison, nor his house sealed, nor shall he be compelled to lodge soldiers. His children, his servants, and his female slaves shall not be compelled to pay Kharatch, nor the other taxes for the public service. All lawsuits, of whomsoever it may be, with the Consul, shall be decided at my Sublime Porte, according to the treaties, and nowhere else. And if he shall wish to travel by land or by sea, he may have an escort, and no one shall stop him, and demand tolls from him or from his servants,

<sup>1</sup> Beylerbeg means Civil Governor.

<sup>2</sup> Sirdar means military chief, or commander.

<sup>3</sup> This phrase is the most distinguished that can be used towards a Christian; for to hope "his end may be blessed," infers his conversion to Mohammedanism, as none but true believers can be "blessed."

<sup>4</sup> Kharatch is a capitation tax only paid by Christians.

<sup>5</sup> Kassabieh is a tax imposed on those who kill animals for food.

<sup>6</sup> Mandarieh is a tax on Christians alone, because it is supposed they eat pork.

either regularly established dues, or irregular, nor annoy him about his riding on horseback, nor for his costume,<sup>1</sup> nor on the pretext of paying for couriers, nor on any other account. And in regard to provisions as food for him and his people, and provender for his horses, he shall be permitted to buy, with his own money, at the current prices, and no one shall oppose him in this respect. And in places which may be unsafe, it shall be lawful for him to wear a white turban, gird on a sword, have and carry bows and arrows, spurs to his boots, and other war-like instruments, without being hindered by any Kadee, Beylerbeg, or other person. Nor shall the tax-gatherers and custom-house officers by pretext impose on him. For, according to the Treaties, it is necessary that he should be protected. This is our Imperial command, which, when it arrives to you, abide by and rely on: and he that doeth contrary shall be punished.

“ 11th Redjab, 1218 [1803].”

<sup>1</sup> Christians were not allowed then to wear white turbans, nor bright colours, nor yellow shoes, nor red shoes, nor to ride on horseback in towns.

## APPENDIX B.

AN ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY ACROSS THE DESERT OF ARABIA, BY  
J. GRIFFITHS, M.D., IN "TRAVELS IN EUROPE, ASIA  
MINOR, AND ARABIA," IN 1786. (London: Cadell and  
Davies, 1805.)

OUR party consisted of Mr. H. [Hays], Miss Marianne, myself, and an Armenian servant named Joannes.

The first division of the caravan was formed of about eighty camels and between thirty and forty guards. Other camels, amongst which many were destined for Bagdad, joined us before we took our final departure; the whole number approached two hundred.

Amongst the guards were certain men called "Raffeeks"<sup>1</sup> who are Arabs of various tribes of the Desert, with whom the head Shaykh of a caravan enters into an agreement that they may accompany him on the journey, and protect him from being attacked or plundered by any party belonging to their tribe.

Whenever tribes, or parties belonging to tribes, meet with

It is therefore customary for the principal Shaykh of a caravan to hire as many Rafeeks belonging to those tribes inimical to his own (provided they are to be found) as he judges it probable he may meet with on his route, and he cautiously avoids the territory or wells where he presumes those unfriendly parties may be stationed from whose tribe he has no Rafeek.

It is difficult to understand any other law by which the people of the Desert seem to be regulated than that of superiority in point of numbers ; for as they have no fixed place of residence it is natural to suppose there can be no territorial limits to any particular tribe so precisely marked as to admit of a tax for possessing them ; and it appears, therefore, that the mere chance of falling in with an inferior force constitutes the right of exacting tribute, or, in the true spirit of plunderers, a right of seizure. Whatever may be the standard by which they establish their privileges, the result is the same ; and a caravan can only be preserved by the power of arms or the protection of a Rafeek.<sup>1</sup>

Camels alone are employed to convey the goods, water, and, in general, travellers ; but Mr. H. determined to take with us a horse of great value, to which he was partial ; and a machine called " Mohaffeh " was fitted for common use. This is formed of two boxes about four feet in length, and eighteen or twenty inches in breadth. One of these is slung on each side of the camel, and by means of upright posts fixed at the outside corners, a canvas covering is thrown over them, and it shades the traveller from the extreme heat of the sun. To render this machine more commodious, the boxes are nearly filled with mattresses ; but the movements of the camel prevent all comfort, and every time the fore-feet of the animal come to the ground the shock is similar to that which is experienced in the

<sup>1</sup> There are, however, certain laws, sanctioned by ancient traditions and customs, which bind the Arabs most effectually, and the dereliction from which is considered by them as a stain on their characters not to be effaced.

bow of a vessel when labouring against a head sea ; and in a few hours I was so bruised that I quitted the “ Mohaffeh,” and ever afterwards, even when the heat was almost insupportable, preferred walking.

The provident care of Mr. H. had induced him to pack up a very excellent tent, some wines, liqueurs, butter, and a variety of dried articles; not forgetting a quantity of vinegar, alum, and a pair of bellows, for the purpose of purifying the bad water we had reason to expect.

The water which we took with us was preserved in skins and leathern bottles, but, from their being new, they communicated a disagreeable taste, and we were glad to fill them again at the first well we came to.

We began our march at a quarter-past 11 o'clock on the night of the 8th June, 1786 ; Marianne and myself on the “ Mohaffeh,” Mr. H. on horseback, and Joannes on a camel. We travelled till 8 o'clock the next morning, and then stopped near a few Arabs' huts at a place called Garebooz, three hours from the village of Jebool. Our principal employment during the two days we remained here consisted in arranging our stock and dividing it into such portions as might from time to time be opened without endangering the whole. Here we were joined by several camels and travellers, and many Arabs armed with lances came amongst us. From one of them we bought a young hare, and from those who lived in the tents we procured both “yahourt” (curdled sour milk) and fresh milk.

Our usual mode of proceeding was to set out about two o'clock in the morning and continue travelling till nine, ten, or eleven, when an encampment was formed for the day ; but it several times occurred that we were obliged to go on until five or six o'clock in the evening ; and the fatigue of those days is not easy to be described.

The tent, arms, horse, baggage, and all the travellers were placed in the centre of the encampment formed when we

halted, surrounded by bales of merchandise, and these again encircled by the camels, which, to prevent their straying, had one of their fore-legs tied up. Whenever there is pasture for them, and this frequently occurs, they are allowed to graze until sunset, at which time the keepers collect them together by a particular call, not unlike that of our herdsmen, and secure them in the manner above mentioned.

After the solace of coffee, a few hours' repose during the heat of the day is indulged in by all but those who keep guard, and the scouts, who are invariably dispatched where any apprehensions are entertained of enemies or unknown straggling parties of Arabs being in the neighbourhood. Not unfrequently the scouts are sent forward to reconnoitre the ground near the wells where it is intended to halt, and upon their report depends the execution of the Shaykh's plans. Whenever it proves unfavourable, that is, when the wells are surrounded by enemies, the route is immediately changed; and a hasty departure indicates the probable danger of a meeting. These circumstances are occasionally the cause of great distress during the summer months, when many of the wells being dry, there are fewer resources, and of course at greater distances from each other.

During the first eight days little more occurred than may be presumed from the idea I have endeavoured to convey of caravan travelling. We now and then saw a few horsemen at a distance, many antelopes, jerboas, and hares; of the two former we were not fortunate enough to procure any, but of the last the Arabs brought us several which they had knocked down with small sticks or clubs, thrown with admirable dexterity. The line of our caravan sometimes extending nearly a mile in breadth, the hares which were started, and ran parallel to it, scarcely ever escaped the host of clubs to which they were exposed. The Arab who was successful always brought us his prize, and several of them refused the payment which we were accustomed to offer.

In the forenoon of the eighth day we halted at Ein ul Koom, where we found a well amply supplied with beautiful clear water overflowing a gentle declivity and rendering fertile the surrounding grounds; but it issued, unfortunately, from a bed of bitumen, and was strongly impregnated also with sulphur. The nauseous taste which it had acquired gradually disappeared, however, after an exposure of twenty-four hours to the atmosphere, or after having been subjected to much motion in the skins. Here we first tried our experiment with alum, but in removing one flavour we added another almost as disagreeable, and were compelled to drink the water as it was, or abstain from it altogether.

The Shaykh desired that all the skins might be filled at Ein ul Koom, as it was more than probable that we should be disappointed of water at the wells, which he expected to reach in two days, and in that case we should be compelled to proceed two stages farther.

It was fortunate that we attended to the advice of our Shaykh, for, as he had suspected, there was no water in the wells which we visited on the second day after quitting Ein ul Koom, and those we found at Ein ul Harrouf contained a thick and muddy water scarcely potable. We cautiously, therefore, preserved for drinking that which we had brought (it had now lost all its bad taste), and made use of the new water for common purposes.

On the third day we came to some wells which supplied us with a further stock of muddy water, at a place called Hagleet. On the fourth morning we came to other wells. In a fine gravelly soil a number of wells were open, many others were choked with sand, and the Arabs dug two new ones whilst we remained there.

During the nine following days, from the vicinity of inimical tribes, our Shaykh cautiously avoided the usual track, travelled much more in the night than in the day, and seldom encamped near any wells.

Our own sufferings and inconvenience seemed gradually to increase the farther we entered the Desert. The rays of the sun became daily more powerful, and the simoon, or south-east wind, manifested itself frequently. The face of Mr. H. was extremely blistered ; mine, which had been still more exposed (because I could not submit to guard it by thick cotton handkerchiefs, as Mr. H. had done), was sore ; but the dear child, who had not been permitted to leave the " Mohaffeh," still continued tolerably well, and complained less than either of us. Our stock of provisions was much reduced ; what remained was too dry to be nutritive, particularly some salted tongues, upon which we had placed great reliance, and our general fare was confined to rice. Now and then a hare was brought in, and once our Shaykh gave a liberal treat to all the caravan by killing a young camel.

Early in the morning of the twenty-ninth day of our journey we discovered an extensive grove of palm, or date trees, amongst which we found about noon the village of Rahlee. The inhabitants, who are numerous, live in mud houses, and subsist principally on the fruit of the date tree preserved in different ways. The children seemed to eat nothing else, and scarcely any of those we saw were without dried dates in their hands. Here we found some fowl, for which they made us pay a dollar apiece ; and we purchased a sheep that not only furnished us immediately with a good meal, but supplied us the two following days. The water we procured was the best we had found, and we were not a little rejoiced at meeting with such advantages in the midst of the Desert, where we little expected to find so populous a village and such well-disposed inhabitants. They were of darker complexion than the Arabs we had seen ; and not only made use of surmek for their eyelids, but were many of them marked down the forehead with a blue line not unlike one of the castes of Hindoos.

From Rahlee to Mesched Ali, in consequence of information received by the Shaykh, we made a circuitous route of five days

without meeting with any wells or scarcely any spot for vegetation : one uniform sandy track was all we discovered, and the rising and setting of the sun the only object that claimed our admiration. The hot wind during the day not only blistered our faces, but parched our mouths in such a manner that we could scarcely refrain from drinking ten minutes together. We were obliged to abandon the pipe, pleasurable resource as we had found it, and instead of wine, often preferred vinegar to give a more acidulated flavour to our beverage.

Our stock of water was nearly expended when we came in sight of the grand dome and glittering minarets of Mesched Ali. We pitched our tent and the camels were unloaded at a spot about half a mile to the south of the town. The heat was dreadfully oppressive ; my friend was almost exhausted by the pain and uneasiness he experienced, nor was I much less so. We here procured a supply of mutton, our water was replenished, and in the night we advanced towards the south-east. The heat was for many hours oppressive beyond measure : the thermometer during the four last days had risen to 108, and seldom fell lower than 90. In the evening, however, a light breeze from the west and north-west refreshed our jaded spirits and cooled our inflamed faces. We cautiously covered the dear Marianne with thick cotton handkerchiefs and preserved her from the parching atmosphere as much as was possible. To our great astonishment she supported the heat and fatigue of the "Mohaffeh" much better than either of us, and when the servant or Arabs complained, rallied them with great cheerfulness. Her little mouth was, notwithstanding, much blistered, and I often bathed it with camel's milk and water.

Penetrating still farther to the south on account of some inimical tribes who were known to be in the vicinity, we found ourselves, on the third morning after leaving Mesched Ali, straitened for water. That which still remained in the skins was not only brackish but dirty, and the constant evaporation rendered it hourly less potable.

An alarm of the approach of enemies was suddenly spread through our straggling party about noon. The guards and Rafeeks drew up in a line, and after consultation, determined to proceed in front; which they did, shouting and dancing. Curious to observe what might occur, I took from the servant a musket and advanced with the guards. A large party of men on foot and others on camels, with lances and flags, were coming directly in front of our caravan, and as they proceeded, those on foot quickened their pace to reconnoitre us more nearly. A number of shots were fired in the air on each side, and soon afterwards flags were displayed which produced a parley. At length our Shaykh advanced alone on horseback, armed with his lance and pistols, to meet the Shaykh of the opposite tribe, who was on a camel; when, both dismounting, they saluted each other with much ceremony, and a general halt convinced us that no danger was to be apprehended from our new acquaintances, who proved to be a party of the powerful Shaykh Tivinee, with whom a certain duty upon the goods was soon regulated in an amicable manner.

No spot upon earth more completely deserves the name of Desert than that where we remained during the whole day. Mr. H. was extremely ill, and the hot wind affected us all severely. The water we had was so contaminated that we could not, without reluctance, taste it, and everything transpired to render our situation dreadfully distressing.

The Arabs continued occupied great part of the night, and we set out later than usual. It appeared that we had travelled far from the path which led to those wells where it was intended we should halt; and in spite of the uneasiness we experienced, we were told that it was absolutely necessary to continue travelling until we should reach them. Hour after hour passed in fruitless expectation of coming to the long-wished-for ground. The sun darted his fiery beams with unusual ardour, the simoons stifled us with uncommon heat, and the dregs of our water were ineffectual to quench our violent thirst.

At length the caravan halted, and, to our inexpressible mortification, not in the vicinity of any wells. The same distress was therefore to be supported until the next day, when we were positively assured we should arrive at fresh water.

The manner of passing the time during this halt may be easily imagined. Complaints were unavailing. We mixed vinegar with the little remaining water to moisten occasionally our mouths. The dear child slept soundly, from fatigue, and the departure of the caravan, which we hastened as much as in our power, was a moment of joy.

At length I perceived evident marks of our approaching the long-looked-for wells, where some relief was to be expected. The hasty march of the leading camels and stragglers, all verging towards one point, convinced me we were not far from the place of our destination.

But this moment of gratification was soon succeeded by one of peculiar horror and anxiety. Scarcely had I quenched my thirst before the "Mohaffeh" arrived. I flew with a bowl of water to my friend, who drank but little of it, and in great haste. Alas ! it was his last draught. His lovely child, too, eagerly moistened her mouth of roses, blistered by the noxious blast.

I unpacked as speedily as possible our liqueur chest and hastened to offer him some cordial, but nature was too much exhausted. I sat down, and receiving him in my arms, repeated my endeavours to engage him to swallow a small portion of the liqueur. All human efforts were vain ; he breathed his last upon my bosom !

With as much propriety as the circumstances admitted, the servant and myself, who were the only ones who professed the Christian religion, performed the melancholy task of burial ; and having induced the Arabs to dig a grave near the ruins of a village not far from the wells, I directed the remains to be carried there, following it with the dear Marianne, who knelt by me whilst I offered to God the pure effusions of a heart

overwhelmed by distress, but submissively bowing to the decrees of His Divine will.

From the last wells we had proceeded in a direct line towards the river Euphrates through a more uneven and more fatiguing country than any we had passed. The sand was loose and blown into irregular hillocks that impeded our progress considerably, and we travelled less distance than usual. It was here I saw many of those columns of sand collected by a circular movement of the atmosphere, and appearing as a cone, lengthening and increasing in bulk to a prodigious height. The resemblance they bear to what the sailors term waterspouts cannot fail of occurring to those who have noticed such phenomena at sea; and when they are multiplied in numbers, as is frequently the case, there is something peculiarly interesting and even grand in the spectacle.

The next day brought us to the banks of that delightful river, which, taking its rise in the lofty and almost impenetrable mountains of Ararat, separates the countries of Syria and Diarbekeer, passes through Arabian Irak before its junction with the Tigris, and then empties its waters in an united stream into the Persian Gulf.

All apprehension of the want of water during the remainder of our journey—the most material part of the inconvenience to which we had been exposed—now vanished, and as soon as the heat of the sun was sufficiently mitigated, I enjoyed the luxury of bathing in the Euphrates.

On the fourth morning from our leaving the Euphrates we came early to our ground. And here were regulated various concerns respecting the merchandise by people belonging to Shaykh Tivinee, a most formidable and powerful chief of the Bedouin Arabs. Many merchants also visited us, and the next morning we proceeded to Bussorah, where we arrived about noon of the forty-eighth day from our leaving Aleppo.

As far as I am able to judge of the character and manners of the Arabs of the Desert, they fully deserve the reputation which

various travellers have allowed them for liberality, kindness, and a strict regard to their engagements. Those of superior rank have an inherent principle of politeness also, which is at all times evident, and their easy, graceful deportment, combined with a seriousness of manner, inspires both respect and confidence. Sparing of words themselves, they seem to be offended at a repetition of questions ; at least, so I judged of those with whom it was necessary to treat previous to my leaving Aleppo, as well as of the Shaykh and his immediate friends who composed part of the caravan. Their dissatisfaction was manifested by no act of rudeness ; though teased, they replied, but with more solemnity and precision.

Their hospitality is sincere, and was exemplified, not only whenever we approached either the Shaykh or any of his superior servants whilst drinking coffee or eating their frugal meal of rice, but also whenever a kid or sheep was killed, which occurred but seldom, it never escaped them to offer cheerfully some portion of their repast, and repeated enquiries were made by the Shaykh of our welfare and our wants. When these enquiries were communicated by a servant, he expressed himself in a way to assure us that he was not less interested about us than his master.

In making bread several modes are adopted, but that which is most usual, as being most expeditious, is lighting a fire in a glazed earthen vessel, and after having mixed the meal with water so as to make a dough, they lay it on the outside of the jar in thin round cakes, which as they become dry on one side from the heat of the vessel, are replaced upon the other, and are soon sufficiently baked to be eaten. Nothing can be more insipid than this kind of bread, of which the Arabs are particularly fond.

The honesty of these simple people appears to be so well attested that a few individual examples of petty thefts ought not to invalidate the general good opinion which they have deserved. I do not here consider the plundering of a caravan

as a species of theft that contradicts the ideas usually entertained respecting the Arab's honesty. From time immemorial, as I have before mentioned, certain duties have been exacted by Shaykhs whose rights of sovereignty in particular districts have been consolidated by publicly avowed or tacit acquiescence. When any endeavour, therefore, is made to evade the payment of these duties, hostilities are supposed to be authorised, and confiscation of property takes place,—provided the arms of the Shaykh thus injured prove superior to those of his adversaries; or in cases of established enmity between two tribes the result will be the same. But this is the general effect produced by war, and however it may be morally characterised, we are taught to express a material political distinction between captures made by the magnanimous arms of great nations and petty larceny depredations of poor individuals.

Bussorah is the emporium of this quarter of the world. It is here that richly-laden ships from every part of India pour in their cargoes. Those from Surat and the Malabar Coast consist of pearls, elegant gold and silver cloths, shawls, and other splendid articles of dress for the Persians; coffee, spices, metals, and woollen cloths. The Coromandel Coast and Bengal supply rice, sugar, muslins, and an infinity of white and blue cloths for common use. The returns are made chiefly in specie and jewels, and a certain number of highly-bred Arab horses are annually consigned for India; for which is obtained a very considerable price from gentlemen who promote the pleasures of the turf or the chase.

The antiquity of this city is traced as far back as the fifteenth year of the Hegira, 637 A.D., when Omar, the second Caliph of the Mussulmans, selected, with political prudence and foresight, this important spot for the foundation of a mart in which should concentrate the lucrative commerce of India, Persia, Arabia, and Syria. For many centuries the greater part of Europe was supplied by this communication with the splendid produce of the East, but at present Persia and Syria are the

greatest consumers of the eastern articles consigned to Bussorah.

Taking a grateful leave of the gentlemen at Bussorah, and confiding my little companion Marianne to the kind care of Mr. Manesty, the East India Company's Resident, I embarked on board the *Greyhound* packet, Captain John Robinson, for India.

## APPENDIX B.

COPY OF BREVET, OR PATENT, DELIVERED TO JOHN BARKER, ESQ.,  
BY H. E. JOHN SPENCER SMITH, INVESTING HIM WITH THE  
FUNCTIONS OF PROCONSUL.—DATED 9TH APRIL, 1799.

Omnibus et Singulis has literas lecturis aut visuris Salutem.  
Serenissimus et Potentissimus Princeps Giorgius, Dei  
Gratia Magnæ Britanniæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei  
Defensor etc., per literas suas Patentes Magno Magnæ Bri-  
tanniæ Sigillo munitas, Nos Ministrum Plenipotentiarium  
suum ordinavit ad Augustissimum et Invictissimum Principem  
Selim Turcici Regni Dominatorem, et Potentissimum imperij  
Orientis Monarcham, inter alia dans nobis et concedens autorita-  
tem in omnes et singulos subditos Majestatis suæ in Otto-  
manicis oris terrisque negotiantes commerciasque exercentes,  
potestatem etiam in constitutis Emporiorum sedibus leges  
prescriptionesque ferendi cedendique, ex quarum præscriptis  
dicti sui subditi privatim et publice sese gererent, earum vio-  
latores corrigendi et castigandi; omnia denique et singula  
faciendi perimplendique quæ ad dictam suorum subditorum  
honestam gubernationem pertinerent, Nos, Iohannes Spencer  
Smith Sacrae Majestatis suæ Minister Plenipotentiarius ad præ-  
dictum Turcorum Imperatorem, ingenio probitati et prudentiæ  
Iohannis Barker plurimum confidentes eundem Iohannem Barker  
Agentem nostrum et Pro-Consulem Britannicum in Civitate  
Berea [vulg. Alep.] ordinamus et constituimus, dantes ei tam  
amplam autoritatem et potestatem in omnibus et singulis Rebus  
ad Majestatem et subditos ejus spectantibus quam quisquis alias  
Pro-Consul Alepensis ante hâc fructus vel gavisus est, frui aut  
gaudere debuit; gaudendam et fruendam quamdiu nobis pla-

cuerit. In ejus rei testimonium has nostras literas fecimus patentes et sigillo Legationis confirmavimus, Constantinopoli Quarto Nonas Aprilis Anno millesimo Septingentessimo nonagesimo nono. Ad Mandatum Eccellenissimi Ministri [signed] Speneer Smith.

[Signed]. B. PISANI, Cancellarius.

Vera Copia,

B. PISANI, Chancellor.

The Consular Patent written on the other side is a true extract taken from the Register 29, folio 109, existing in the Chancery of the British Embassy.

PERA OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 18th February, 1833.

GEORGE WOOD, Canc. ad interim.

Seal of  
British Embassy.









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